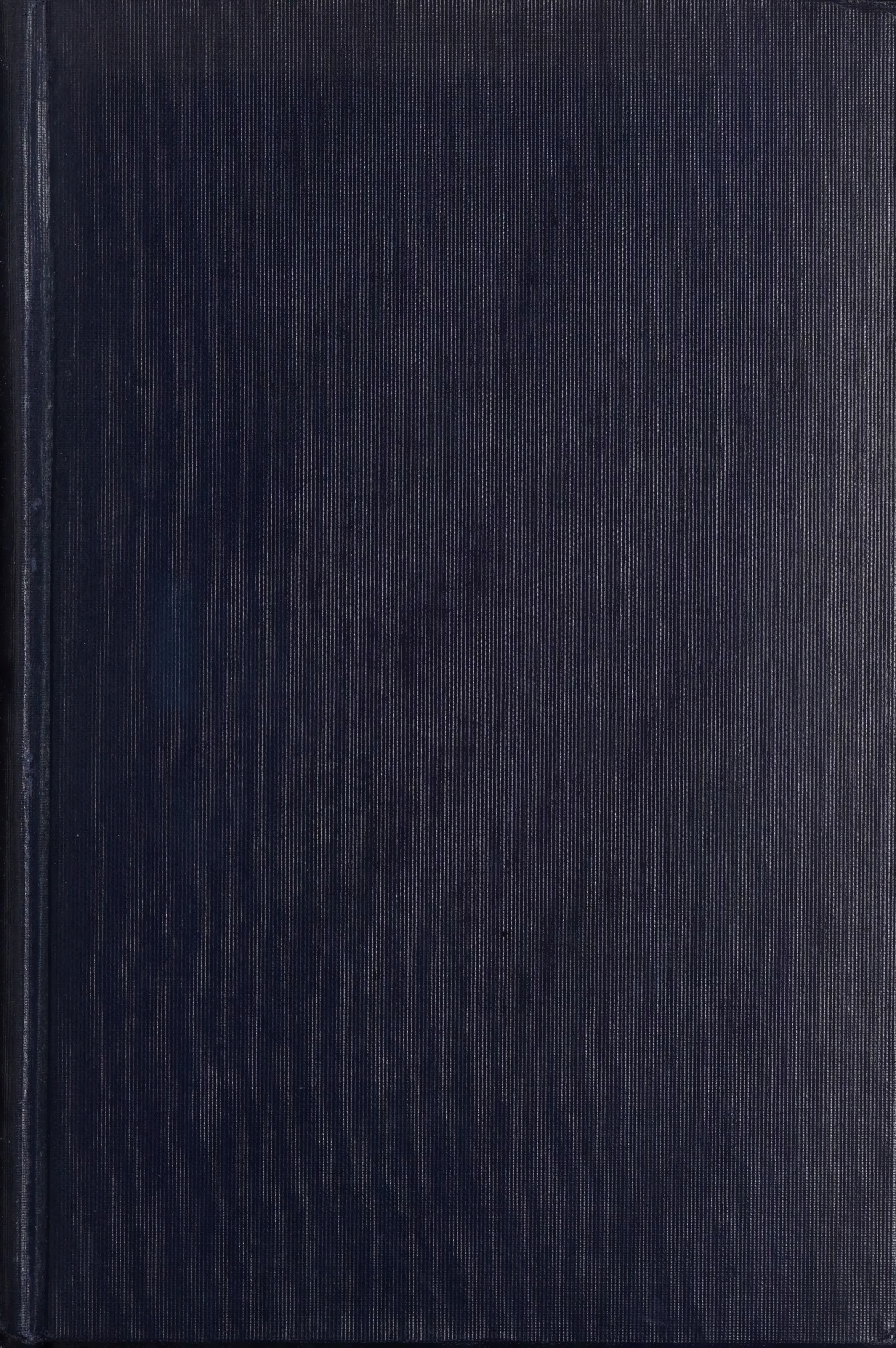


THE JEWS OF CALIFORNIA

From the Discovery of Gold until 1880

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To the memory of Rose, née Lewi
Vilna — Vienna — New York City

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AI and I	American Israelite
Asm	Asmonean
Benjamin	Josef Israel Benjamin, Drei Jahre in Amerika, Hanover 1862. (English Edition, Philadelphia 1956).
Buckbee	Edna Bryan Buckbee, The Saga of old Tuolumne, New York, 1935.
Calendar	A Jewish Calendar for fifty years . . . By Jacques J. Lyons . . . and Abraham De Sola, . . . Montreal 5614–1854.
DAC	Daily Alta California
G	Gleaner, Weekly Gleaner
H	The Hebrew
LAS	Los Angeles Star
Occ	The Occident
PAJHS	Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society.

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INTRODUCTION

In the general concept of America formed by European emigrants California is distinguished by the idea of natural wealth linked with that of adventure—comparable with the lust for gold of the conquistadores. It is significant that this latter comparison is drawn repeatedly in the literature of that time. Yet the contemporary experience was so overpowering that the immigrant was not really aware of a California before the gold era—neither of a Spanish nor a Mexican one. He knew only of the American California, the places where gold had been found were gilded on the maps then in circulation in Europe to make it most easy for the emigrants to find the way to their destination in America.

> "The New American ElDorado . . . revived the days of Cortez, and Pizarro Raleigh"

but also led to much older ideas centered around gold which the seeking humanity

> ". . . emboweled in the famed Ophir and Tarshish of antiquity."[1]

Later attempts to rationalize the search for gold searched the Bible and the Holy Land so incessantly that ultimately the Patriarchs were pictured as the idol of all gold-seekers and that the later Children of Israel did not forget that their ancestors had exported gold from Egypt, and one likewise well recalled the contemporary link between Jews and gold.

> "Gold in all ages—Gold-Seekers."
>
> "The "diggings" of which there is the first mention in history were those of the land of Havilah, where Moses remarks in Gen. II 11,12, "there is gold and the gold of this land is good." We suppose that Abraham was acquainted with this fact, and that he availed himself of the treasure there to be gathered, since we know that he possessed a good store of the precious metals, and that he was able to pay four hundred shekels for a cemetery lot, at a time when such property was not near so high, generally

> speaking as it now is. A thrifty man was that patriarch, and "rich in cattle, in silver and in gold." Thrifty also was Isaac, and more especially Jacob, and thrifty have been their descendants. Even the meek Moses seems to speak of the gold of Havilah with an unction; and certainly the young Moses who, at the present day, enlivens Chatham street by the brilliancy of his immense finger-rings and breast pins, has come legitimately by his passion for this sort of finery; his ancestors in Egypt had an inordinate fancy for the golden ornaments and vessels of the Egyptians."[2]

While the new arrivals strove to legitimize their longing for adventure and gold, the rest of America created their image of the region, which by a strange coincidence was incorporated into the American Commonwealth at the very hour when the gigantic gold-finds were made and which would only too soon spread the fame of the new land all over the globe. The remainder of America which for so long had been most skeptical of the gold news finally no longer resisted. Yet it was still so cautious and hesitant that it was somewhat difficult to evaluate the importance of the new territory to the country as a whole.

> "The wealth of old Spain, drawn from the mines of Mexico and South America, involved the blood of millions, and the enslavement of the unoffending inhabitants of a continent. No wonder that prosperity thus obtained, did not command the blessing of heaven, and that the streams of gold, acquired at such a sacrifice, instead of fertilizing the land enjoying them, only paralyzed its industry, corrupted its morals, and, in the end, impoverished, weakened and degraded the people."[3]

The deeper meaning of such general warnings was, of course, to allay the misgivings and fears harbored by the older, economically leading sections of the Union. These arose from observance the most courageous and best equipped people drifting to the lands of the new paradise. At an early date such fears were presented together with economic bait to potential gold-migrants: namely that a general prosperity would result from the trans-continental railroad which, after the opening-up and the feeding of the internal sections of the country, would be bound to ultimately strengthen the position of the Atlantic regions as a commercial empire:

> "We have presented to us an opportunity of throwing the commerce of all Europe with the East, across this continent, and

making New York the grand emporium of the trade of the world, and of rendering all nations tributary to us. A trade which would give a new impulse to all our interests; which would diffuse over the whole Union more wealth than all the golden sands of California . . . "[4]

In a later analysis of the economic developments and Jewish life in the new state on the Pacific coast, the established trade relations and the permanent foundation of the firm organizations will become particularly evident. We shall learn that the early counsel never to forget the road to the East was well remembered and that provisions were made in accordance with such advice; but it is also true that the "golden sands of California," depreciated by the East in the beginning, were not lost sight of, at least as long as they remained rewarding. The inquiry concerning the final economic outcome of the new situation created by the gold discoveries was answered by a few voices in the East with dignity and self-confidence. We quote as one example Edward Everett who spoke in the Massachusetts Legislature as follows:

" . . . Wherever the fountain of the golden tide may gush forth, its streams will flow to the region where educated intellect has woven the boundless net-work of the useful and the ornamental arts. If the State of Massachusetts adheres to the same policy which has for the most part directed her legislation, a generous wave of the golden tide will reach her distant shore."[5]

It might have appeared as a natural development if the stream of goods from the East had resulted in an equally strong stream of gold back to New York, the new world's Empire State. Yet the question arose whether all that was excess on the Pacific should be permitted to wander to the East to serve the "useful" or the "ornamental" tendencies of an older civilization or whether the gold should be invested in new enterprises in the West or to make life more beautiful out there? A conflict developed between the original colonies and those newly developed in the Pacific regions. There was much criticism of those who went back East with their new fortunes. Jewish merchants were branded as unpatriotic, although such action by non-Jews was not resented. This was true in spite of the fact that it was just the Jews who invested permanently in the Pacific region and who demonstrated their continuing commercial interest in the region by the manner of their

companies' organization which established a permanent link between East and West.

While in California, just as everywhere else, the fight for natural rights and status among their fellow-citizens was decisive for the external Jewish history, the lines of the internal history of the Jews in America are to be drawn in a manner so that the significance of the Jewish settlement on the Pacific for the entire Jewish community in America will become fully obvious.

Emotionally, the fact that American life stretched now as far as the Pacific was of greater importance than that a new community was developing there. Emotionally, the Californian Jews could feel that they were the very pioneers of American Jewry at the Pacific. One may well say that California was not only in the center of all the expectations of American Jews who considered going there but was similarly for the Jews of the entire world who as potential emigrants listened both to the joyful news that America was a free continent and that there was a new region excelling all others by natural wealth, attracting people from all over the globe. The report that Jewry had begun to settle permanently on the Pacific was hailed by Jews everywhere with enthusiasm, and news reports were reproduced with the utmost of interest. An added phenomenon was that in California a new society was developing, the conformity of which to American society in general was not at all a certainty. Nor was the position of the Jews in that new society clarified. The human associations in the mines which accorded to the "foreigner" a position of inferiority and discriminated against him could well turn against the Jew; and this could take place in a region where the powers of the state and Federal governments could not become effective. Actually the developments proved surprisingly fortunate because the Jew was not a competitive prospector but engaged in general business. This chain of events, interrupted by unfortunate accidents only infrequently, provides the framework of the external history of Californian Jewry.

The settlement of California in general was basically the rush to the Pacific at a time when not even the very heart of America was at all fully explored and exploited yet. There developed for American Jews a special situation, though it was only transitory in character. When the gold rush began, they had just commenced

to transfer the weight of their numbers and the new communities to the Middle-West, something which—although only for a limited time—was accomplished later. Thus, the sudden push toward the Pacific during the gold-rush abruptly changed to some extent the direction of the stream of Jewish immigrants for a certain length of time. In San Francisco ten years after the gold-rush a concentration both as to numbers and to the population ratio was comparable in its density only to that of New York at that time. The new arrivals had more links to New York and the East, both of an economic and familiar nature, than most others who came to California. But the Jewish settlers of California hailed from all Jewish communities on the Atlantic coast, and from the South, too; many of them, of course, were immigrants. Many who had settled in the Middle-West arrived. Thus East and West, North and South, native Americans and newly arriving Jews merged in California.

Generally the numerical importance of the Pacific concentration of the Jews in comparison to those in the Middle-West and on the Atlantic coast had been basically decided at the time of the Civil War. It fell short of expectations, just as the colonization of the entire Pacific slope failed to reach the numbers which had been anticipated: Sutro, e.g., had estimated that no less than thirty million might settle there. Thus the concentration of Jews in California, viewed from a historical point of view—even if one takes into account the much later development in Los Angeles and other influxes—remained uncompleted, at least as compared to the other concentrations of Jews in America.

Yet this in no way diminished the inner strength of the Californian center enabling it to become effective toward the North and at a proper moment to carry the Jewish migration toward British Columbia and to Alaska—thus demonstrating a Jewish power to expand which by far transcended the numbers of people involved.[6] If one should care to attempt to view Jewish existence on the North American continent as illustrated by the Californian example, one might conclude that the terrific pressure which drove Jewish migrant masses across the ocean equally inspired and electrified the transcontinental migration to the full extent and throughout the network of economic potentialities. The singularity of this historic situation consisted in a phenom-

enon in contrast to the European past. It was not certain economic functions of the Jews which motivated the transmigration of Jews from one region to another, rather the Jews in America simply shared the general fate of the continent. Their joining the passage that lead to the erection of a Pacific Empire constituted nothing than a participation in a common adventure, albeit one that resulted in specific responses to a common challenge of destiny.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE PACIFIC AT THE TIME OF THE GOLD RUSH

The Situation Before the Gold Rush

At the time when gold was discovered in California, Jews had not settled the neighboring territories in groups of any size. They had not assumed any important role in the period prior to this when American trading activities in the Pacific had led to the acquisition of the California territory by the United States. Therefore, Jewish masses could join the gold rush only by coming from distant countries—from Europe, Africa, or Australia; or, at best, from remote parts of the United States—travelling by boat or via the overland trail. The distance between Europe and America had little significance for those European Jews stirred by the promise of the California adventure. Nor did the Jews who previously had settled on the Atlantic seaboard react differently when the news of the gold discoveries broke.

Conditions in Europe in 1848–1849

For the European Jews interested in heading for the Pacific coast, the conditions that prevailed in 1848 in the European emigration centers were of supreme importance. For them, that year was diffused with increasing feelings of insecurity and feverish preparations for emigration—in all directions, but mainly toward the United States. This unrest became critical at the moment when the news of the gold discoveries arrived from California. In America the anticipated intensification of Jewish immigration was duly recorded:

"Immigration of Jews.—

"We learn from the Jewish Chronicle that such is the feeling

of insecurity and alarm felt by that farsighted people, the Jews of Europe, in these times of "liberty, equality and fraternity," that a number of respectable families have been baptized into the church of Rome, to escape persecution, and a thousand Jews in Perth have resolved to depart for Amerika, the rich undertaking to support the poor."[1]

The extensive debate over emigration in the European Jewish press reached its climax precisely at this time, and news regarding emigration was followed with keen interest by the European Jews. Even the first reports from the gold country were hailed as a major event; decisions to emigrate were made with unusual swiftness.

These European revolutions of 1848 produced group migrations to California, and Jewish revolutionaries were among them.

First Reactions of the New Arrivals

The new arrival soon learned to appreciate all the special conditions which underlay the excitement over the Pacific areas and which were of decisive import for merchants, craftsmen, and others. Much could be learned about those plans from the American press and, above all, from those German-language newspapers which were most readily accessible to the Jewish immigrants. Among the motives for the migration to California, in addition to the lure of gold, was the anticipation of the general prosperity which would inevitably result from the mass influx of people into an underdeveloped territory.

Warnings to the Immigrants

A thoughtful warning was added that the gold would be eventually exhausted, while the new economic enterprises would last. It is evident that the Jewish immigrants most earnestly considered all these problems. This fact is demonstrated not only by the very development of certain enterprises, but by the organization of their transcontinental migration, their selection of supplies, their plans for restocking their warehouses, and, above all, by the establishment of permanent business ties with the Atlantic seaboard even before they set out for California. In most instances they were looking forward not so much to mining but to general business activities. Thus, the Jews, after having survived the first natural catastrophes and economic crises, concentrated in certain sec-

tors of the economy, especially the clothing trades, dry goods, tobacco, and jewelry. This was a pattern which could be observed all over the States, and that progressed in the West along the same lines as it had on the Atlantic coast.

Later, when a concrete picture of the life of the Jews in the mining camps could be ascertained, and conclusions concerning the lasting consolidation of the Jewish community on the Pacific could be drawn, those warnings were reiterated with particular emphasis. Economic security was to be achieved only through reconstruction and sound investments, and not by transitory strokes of fortune. Such security was the major pre-requisite for the building of the Jewish community and the transplantation of Jewish institutions to the Pacific coast.

Desire of New Immigrants for Jewish Communal Life

Even before embarking for the United States, the emigrants, sometimes unrealistically, provided for the immediate founding of Jewish congregations in California:

> "We also saw in a European paper, that a vessel sailed for California not long ago from Havre, all the passengers of it were Israelites, who carried out with them a Hazan, Shochet, Mohel, two Sepharim, and, in short, all that is needed to conduct duly a Jewish worship."[2]

While it is true that upon arrival in America those original units, more often than not, broke up when faced with the tough realities of pioneer life, yet plans for those religious congregations had been made, and after many trials the original ideal was realized.

Extraordinary Difficulties Faced by the Jewish Pioneers

Though it was anticipated that, more or less automatically, the original Jewish adventurers would settle permanently, Jewish apologetics yet pointed out that their being lured by the gold should be excused by the fact that others did the same; the desire for gold filled Jews and Gentiles alike. However, the very essence of the adventure of the Jewish Argonauts was that their lust for adventure was an even more burning one and produced the same daring exhibited by the others who crossed the continent. For their difficulties were immeasureably greater. The Jew did

not find in California the community to which he was accustomed; his accomplishment as founder of congregations on the Pacific demonstrated a traditional group-loyalty which exceeded that of all other Jewish colonies in the United States.

The Forty-Niners on the Road

Contemporaries saw nothing, then, but the rush of individuals set on exploiting the greatest chance of their time, hoping to contribute a "Block of saint-seducing gold"[3] to the national wealth. The situation within the Jewish communities was not different. Reports emanating from the pioneer communities of the Middle West, even those which had reached a certain degree of stability, describe the effects of the gold fever on its members, and, subsequently, on the congregation as such: "St. Louis. . . . Emanu-El . . . 1849 . . . The emigration to California diminished their members still more, so much that they were left with but few members . . ."[4]

Jewish Attitude Toward the Mining Companies

Foremost in the thoughts of the Jewish transcontinental migrants, envisioning the prospects of the gold country, were plans for the strenuous trip, and, once there, the possibility of practical accomplishments. It is true that the non-Jewish environment, from the very beginning, had advanced one specific type of enterprise and one certain form of economic activity in California—namely, the mining company. But while the mining companies dominated the picture of the gold rush, their style of life could in no way be the mode of living for the masses of Jewish immigrants. This held true even though numerous Jews individually enlisted in them and went West with them. The mining companies were forming within closely-knit local units, with all its advantages and disadvantages, communities to which the Jews had not belonged prior to the gold rush. Furthermore, as most startlingly demonstrated by the New England mining companies, the communities were based on the definite training and qualifications of their members. They were composed, for example, of a certain number of ship-builders and artisans of all kinds, men with capital investments in certain stocks of merchandise, and, finally, a

number of sailors for the voyage. Many of the Jews, particularly the new-comers, could never exhibit those qualifications, even had they been entirely sympathetic with the prospect of the future as it appeared to the men in those companies. Nor can it be doubted that in the mining companies as well as in the other groups of migrants to the West, some definite anti-Jewish discrimination was practised. We read of one of the earlier examples of organized group migration to the Far West which we must accept as indicative of a more general attitude and which was applied, indubitably, in later associations of emigrants as well:

> "Emigrants to Oregon.—
> "The Oregon Provisional Emigration Society have determined on sending out a company of emigrants, to consist of not less than two hundred families. . . . . We are now ready to contract with emigrants on the most favorable terms, but shall not encourage or assist any whose character for morals and faith in Christianity is not well established.
>
> F. T. Tracy, Secretary.
> April 20th, 1839."[5]

Any ties to the minds, or even only the accumulation of capital in such an emigration company, was not at all what was envisaged by the overwhelming majority of the Jewish transmigrants. They had their own ideas of their economic activities and had often even their own resources in the East or came with a full stock of goods. Or they came without any concrete ideas or resources, but merely filled with the ardent desire to be independent and to use every opportunity to advantage. Thus we observe two phenomena: the majority of Jewish migrants arriving in the West independent of organized groups; and, simultaneously (as always in the case of Jewish migration, particularly in the United States) some Jews, independent of one another, travelling together and appearing on the same boats and in joint company. A certain common closeness in life and the concept of common safety are basic to such collective migrations to California or anywhere else. Early lists of immigrants preserved by American boat companies reveal that there were ships entirely without Jewish passengers; while it could also be observed that if Jews were on board at all, they travelled as a group. Those Jewish groups were even more apparent, and larger, in the case of the migration to California. From the ports of embarkation reports emanated concerning the

manning of certain boats with sizable parties of Jewish travellers whose personal circumstances were well known. The Jewish press of those days is the source of some valuable information in this respect.[6]

Most Stayed—Only A Few Returned East

The large number of Jewish migrants to California became apparent at an early date.[7] If, however, the small number of migrants who turned their backs on California is commented upon, it should be added that the Jews established a much better record than most other groups. Of the workers of the New England Mining Company, no less than 60% returned East. Nevertheless, this fact was not appreciated by their contemporaries. On the contrary, early anti-Semitic propaganda was sparked by the claim that only the Jews returned to the East with their accumulated wealth. As a matter of fact, the general lists of the California pioneers which were produced much later showed that a large number of those non-Jews had settled again in the eastern parts of the United States.

Crises Come and Pass

The press reports clearly show the economic bases of the migration of the Jewish merchants to California, their lasting commercial ties with their places of origin, the anticipation of new outlets for their enterprises. It also reveals them making immediate use of opportunities to dispose of the oldest stock, the real "white elephants." In the course of time the type of goods shipped to California underwent all kind of developments, and we are permitted to witness them through the eyes of a Jewish merchant.[8] The transition from the days when practically everything was in demand to those days when the merchants and the arriving mining companies had imported an excess of everything was like the change from day to night. In subsequent periods only the collection of choice goods could be sold at all while everything else was to be auctioned off at dirt cheap prices.[9] Furthermore, most Jews were temporarily ill-prepared when the replenishment of their warehouses was at issue.[10] Even where a hope for recovery at a later date was anticipated, the attitude of the Jewish merchant toward his own prospects remained pessimistic.[11]

Nevertheless, the basic foundations on which the Jewish merchants had built lasted until better times arrived, permitting the recovery of lost ground. Faith was still weak, hardly existing, when prices began to recover.[12] After a short interval the damage had been repaired, and it became definitely evident that the basis of the migration to California of Jewish business men had indeed been sound and solid and was a necessary part of the development of the Pacific area.

California Pioneers Arriving From South As From East

In addition to those New York reports of groups leaving there, other accounts tell of embarkations from other ports. The following item, dated February 1850, is indicative of the mood and happenings in the South:

> "New Orleans.—
> We give the names of a few of the parties who left in the *Falcon,* upon her late departure from this spot:

Mr. Hitzelberger	C. Hess
S. Jacobi	S. Lazard
Ben Jacobs	S. Marks
C. Leibersmeyer	D. Jacobi
S. K. Labatt	A. Hess
S. Ellsaser	Alexander Aron

J. Goldsmith."[13]

Jews Among the Argonauts

We have elaborate compilations of the groups of the California pioneers, those Argonauts of 1849; they consist of boat and overland travelling groups. The mining companies, which were organized in different places, were listed separately. In Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Louisville, Pennsylvania, Georgia, New York, Mobile, mining companies were formed which definitely counted Jews among their members.[14] An analysis of the names of the Jewish California pioneers of that period provides us with typical, predominantly German-Jewish, names of the Jewish immigrants of America, virtually in the same distribution and frequency as found in the country at large. This convincingly proves that all sectors of the Jewish community of America equally participated in the California adventure.

The California pioneers always remained acutely aware that they had arrived with the Argonauts of 1849; and that fact retained a central importance which it never lost. This phenomenon created a deep psychological contrast to the associations of pioneers, generally existing in the West, which failed to emphasize the trip as such and only inquired into the date of arrival as well as the permanent settlement of the pioneer. In the pioneer associations of California the distinction of being one of the Argonauts had a lasting emotional impact. The exact dates of arrival within the year 1849 were recorded early. For example, note later than 1855 we learn of a "List of Members of the Society of California Pioneers with the Date of Their Arrival in California and Their Present Residences"; and we find listed therein:

"S. Rosenthal, San Francisco, Dec. 1849
Julius K. Rose, San Francisco, June 1849
J. N. Cardoza, San Francisco, Sept. 1849."[15]

Later compilations of the various membership lists of the associations of California pioneers, whose membership ranks swelled only after the pioneers had reached a ripe age, reveal the dynamics of the great push during the gold rush in 1849. There are numerous subdivisions of these lists, e.g., by means of transportation-ships' passenger lists and lists of overland travellers' groups; and further, in regard to the location of the pioneer association, either in California or in cities on the eastern seaboard to which some of them had returned, e.g., New York City. Among the uncounted Jewish pioneers those who lived in California in their advanced years are of special interest to us. The standard volume on the Argonauts lists for 1890, in San Francisco, J. Blum, N. Benedict, H. Fried, M. Levy, B. T. Lilenthall, L. Sloss; in San Joacquin, M. Frankenheimer; in Sacramento, Isadore Haas; in Marysville, Henry Weil and J. Katzenstein; in Eldorado County, Henry Mahler; and, furthermore, in different places on the Pacific coast, J. S. Friedman, J. Goldman, S. Greenwald, S. Heydenfeldt, S. C. Nathan, J. S. Polack.[16]

All of them were members of the Association. Yet the overwhelming majority of the Jewish pioneers of 1849, whose names have come down to us through other sources, failed to join such an association, but did continue to reside in California or other areas of the Pacific coast.

The travellers left traces if they used the transcontinental route, and definite reports if they made the voyage by boat.

In consequence of the continuous migration to California over an extended period, New York, the largest port and the seat of the country's largest Jewish community, witnessed the dynamic emergence of a Pacific community of German and Eastern European Jews and became well acquainted with the conditions that necessitated that new beginning.

On the Panama route, which was an intermediary step in the divided sea trip via the Isthmus, it was possible to make contact with Jews living there.[17] Traces of the overland treks of the Jewish California migrants have been preserved at various places, e.g., at Salt Lake City when it was in its very beginnings: July 6, 1850, "Emigrants. The following who have passed on, paid their fare for a copy of our paper directed to their friends . . . J. W. Levy Arrow Rock Mo arr[ived] June 25 departed 27."[18] In the mail records we also find the names of Jewish transmigrants: January 11, 1851: "List of Letters remaining in the Salt Lake City Post Office

. . . Levy, Lewis
. . . Levi, Frederick"[19]

Likewise we meet them again among the numerous victims who fell in the transcontinental crossings by various groups: The emigrant Spitzer died in 1847 and was buried in the snow.[20] More detailed is the description we receive from a report published in a Jewish periodical many years thereafter:

> " . . . Whilst still a young man and when living in one of the cities of the East, Goldstein was engaged to a Jewish girl whose brother formed part of one of the first bands of emigrants who went to seek their fortunes in California. Whilst there, he fell dangerously ill, and his sister, the betrothed of Goldstein, on learning the sad news, proceeded to California to nurse him, but on the road was captured by savages, who offered up her body as a sacrifice . . . ' [21]

Many of the new-comers who arrived first on the Atlantic coast, soon after landing, started toward the Pacific. Thus Adolph Sutro related:

"The whole family landed in New York in October 1850. I stayed one week and then I made for California . . . I came by the way of Panama . . . It took us six days to cross the Isthmus."[22]

It is likely that one year earlier Forty-Niners were in more of a hurry.

Contemporary reporters do not conceal that a hard existence awaited the settlers of the gold country and that the conditions there were even harsher than in colonizing efforts in general. They did not spare Biblical comparisons:

"The Israelites entered the land of promise by arms and established themselves by the force of their military prowess. But this is not quite the land of promise, nor are these Israelites who stream over the Rocky Mountains. But they are a sturdy band, whose enterprise will cover these fertile hills with golden harvests."[23]

Only a few years later the deprivations of the long road and the hardships of the agricultural efforts were forgotten, and anyone contemplating a trip to California, regardless of its purpose, was promised nothing but enjoyment:

" . . . the man of pleasure and the man of business will alike cross their broad expanse, and view with wonder and delight this Eden of America."[24]

Truth—Stranger Than Fiction

Though circumstances surrounding the California trips were fantastic, the over-active mind of the people embellished them with many fictitious details. Even the legend which, in America, surrounded the name of the Rothschilds embraced the fantasies centering around the migration to California:

"The Rothschilds own a large estate in California, and it is said are building the largest merchant vessel in the world, to ply between Liverpool and San Francisco."[25]

This wild fantasy expressed only the wishful thinking of the newcomers on the Pacific coast whose thoughts revolved around the vessels arriving from abroad. A Honolulu newspaper, as early as August 1848, reported on a new steamship connection between Panama and Oregon:

" . . . the success of these steamers will be great; a vast population will be suddenly thrown into California; the demand for Hawaiian produce will be greatly increased . . . "[26]

The poet's imaginative mind had simply put Rothschild on a new horse.

Yet it is true that Rothschild could have picked up passengers even in Honolulu. This is shown by a report printed there about one year later, and which had been filed by the paper's correspondent in San Francisco:

> "I was surprised to meet so many familiar countenances. It really seemed as if one-fourth of the population had emigrated from Honolulu or had spent a season there . . .[27]

A certain distance in time and, sometimes, the peace of declining years were needed for the pioneers to recall how extraordinary their trips had been and how those unusual events had been essential elements of their pioneering lives. That permanent recording was made in biographies sketched at a later date and published in the Jewish periodicals of California decades after the events. They are abundant in examples demonstrating the impact of the voyages of the lifes of the parties concerned.

> "*Louis Sloss*. . . . Born July 13, 1823 in the village of Untereisenheim . . . Bavaria . . . family of five children . . . seven Jewish families in Untereisenheim . . . United States in 1845 . . . settled in Louisville, crossed the plains on horseback in 1849, his companions being Dr. Macdonald and the late Judge Swift . . . located in Sacramento and with Simon Greenwaldt, one of his life long partners, established the mercantile house of Louis Sloss a.Co." . . . .[28]

Elsewhere we learn of the almost incredible detours such trips sometimes entailed:

> "Samuel W. Levy . . . President of the Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Home Society . . . born at Haegen . . . Alsace, November 2, 1830 . . . 1848, just before the July revolution . . . across the ocean . . . After a few months of residence in New York . . . went to New Orleans, where he remained just long enough to recover from an attack of cholera, and early in 49 took ship for California . . . Going across the Isthmus o Panama to reach the Pacific, he was detained for want of funds, . . . opened a small business in Panama. This business he continued until December 18, 1851, when he left for San Francisco arriving at the Golden Gate on the last day of that year . . . went to the mines, remained for three years, and returned in 1854 to establish himself in business in East Oakland. . . . . "[29]

CHAPTER 2

ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE AND COMMUNITY FOUNDING

I

Jews in California Before the "Gold Rush"

Very likely there were Jews in California before the "gold rush." A "Mr. Brown, who had been a member of Stevenson's Regiment" participated in the first Yom Kippur service at San Francisco in 1849.[1] The regiment had been recruited in New York to take part in the Mexican War and serve in California. A list of the volunteers shows a number who, by their names, were, or may have been, Jews.[2]

Jacob Frankfurt, a "German Tailor" who might have been a Jew, and who had come to New Mexico in the Workman party in 1841, was at Los Angeles in 1846,[3] and was listed in the census of the inhabitants in 1850.[4] He finally settled in San Francisco and was a member of the Pioneer Association.[5] Another early settler who was very likely a Jew was Louis Adler. Born in Prussia in 1820, he was taken to England when a child and became a sailor. In 1846, when he landed from Honolulu at San Francisco (when it was still Buena Yerba) and, for about a year, was a clerk for Leidesdorff, one of the early merchants of the place. In 1847, he left for Sonoma with a cargo of merchandise and, early in 1848, in partnership with one Myers, bought out the business of a merchant of Sonoma. Here Adler spent the rest of his life as merchant, farmer, and the owner of a vineyard. He was twice a councilman of the city.[6]

William Leidesdorff, mentioned above, may have been a Jew: Voorsanger, one of the early historians of the Jewish community of San Francisco, thought he was, and certain Hungarian Jews who tried unsuccessfully to establish a claim as his heirs alleged that he had been Wolf Leidesdorfer of Szathmar.[7] It has also been said of Washington Bartlett, who changed the name of Buena Yerba to San Francisco and who was alcalde of the city in 1849, that he was the son of a Jewess of Charleston, S.C.[8]

II

The Jews in California During the "Gold Rush"

In the spring of 1844, three and a half years before the discovery of gold at the sawmill Sutter was building on the bank of a stream near Sacramento (winter of 1847–48), one of the leading American journals carried the following item of news: "On the 16th of January a vessel arrived at Tepic, bringing about thirty ounces of the purest gold ore taken from a vein lately discovered, and said to extend upwards of thirty leagues. Some weeks ago over 300 men left for upper California."[1] Yet this item and others like it, did not cause any mass migration to California. The public was skeptical and regarded them merely as attempts to lure immigrants. The "gold fever" did not begin until the actual arrival of shipments of California gold in New York.

Even then, there was a good deal of skepticism about how much gold was to be found in California or how long mining there would pay. "The gold fever here," wrote a German newspaper published in New York, on December 16, 1848, "is more rampant than the plague and a large number of ships of all kinds with men and goods are being piloted towards the new Eldorado. The most important thing to note is that this beautiful land is being opened up, and many a man will find in agriculture and in the crafts a more reliable source of treasure than in collecting ore."[2] Most of the Jews going to California were, indeed, looking forward not so much to mining as to trade.

The majority of Jews arrived in the West outside the organized groups, although some Jews, naturally enough, traveled together. Mining companies, as a rule, were formed—before leaving for California—in communities where there were few, or no, Jews. Few Jews, particularly recent immigrants, could qualify, even if they were fellow residents of the community; nor was it at all certain that a mining company would accept a Jew if otherwise qualified. However, we have the names of Jews who were members of mining companies.

H. S. Cohn was a member of a company that left New York to go overland to California; G. Steiner and one Holzman left Pittsburgh in the Enterprise Company; H. S. Cohen of New Orleans was a member of the Havila Mining Company; L. Stern,

L. L. Sloss, and B. G. Samuels were members of the Green River Mining Company from Kentucky; and S. Raphael left Louisville, Kentucky, as a member of another company. C. W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California,* New York, 1890, *passim.*

"From their arrival in 1848 until about 1857 those in New York who could save about $300 for expenses and were able to withstand the hardship of traveling at that time, went to California with the general rush, to seek fortunes in the newly discovered gold region."[3] (This was said of Russian Jews—"in the early fifties there were more Russian Jews in California than in New York"[4]—but it was certainly true of the German Jews. (The American Jewish population grew from about 15,000 in 1825 to about a quarter of a million in 1875[5] and during that period the Jews from Germany and Austria contributed about two-thirds of the total Jewish immigration.) "The cry is still *en avant,*" wrote the Jewish *Asmonean* of New York on January 25, 1850. "The Cherokee steamer which left our port on Thursday last took amidst its crowd of passengers a large number of Israelites. We do not recollect in our experience the departure of any vessel when we saw the quay so lined with members of the faith, each hurrying and crowding to join in the heartstirring shout with which many thousand spectators hailed the casting off of the steamer, seeking thereby to cheer the dispirited and incite the hardy on their bold adventure."[6] And again, quoting its correspondent in New Orleans, as of February 1st, 1850: "A vast number of Israelites are leaving this city and section of the South, for the Eldorado on the shores of the Pacific. Not a vessel quits our harbor but carries a large proportion of the enterprising sons of Israel. The majority of these emigrants are possessed of some means, and having extensive facilities amongst our merchants, will build up a new trade for this city, a vast quantity of old style manufactured goods of every description has been cleared off at remunerating prices, most of which were paid for in cash."[7]

Not all regarded these Jews on "their bold adventure" with such kindly eyes. A fellow passenger wrote: "A portion of the vessel amidships, which had been taken possession of by a dense multitude of traders and speculators, acquired from this circumstance, the nickname of 'Chatham Street,' or the 'Jewry,' the majority being Israelites, or their connections."[8] (Chatham Street, in

New York, was then what Hester Street was to become at the turn of the century: a street of "bargains," particularly in dry-goods and clothing, almost all of the stores owned by Jews.)

The passage to California by way of Nicaragua took about seven weeks.[9] It took Adolph Sutro six days to cross the isthmus by way of Panama.[10]

"A feature of society of interest here," said the *Asmonean* on May 23, 1851, quoting a letter in the New York *Tribune,* "is to be found in the large number of the Israelitish race to be met with in all the towns. Every steamer brings still more of them, and but few depart except to return reinforced by numbers."[11] And Daniel Levy, a French Jew who became a resident of California, writing in the *Archives Israélites* a few years later adds his testimony: "California is perhaps of all lands in the world the place where the Israelites seem to be most thoroughly dispersed. I do not know of a village, hamlet, or any settlement, in the north where the mines are or in the south with its ranches, where one does not find some of them residing. The Germans and Poles furnish the greatest number, and that is only to be expected . . . "[12]

As back East, the Jews concentrated in the clothing and dry goods trades, and in the sale of jewelry or tobacco. "The clothing trade was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews, who are very numerous in California, and devote their time and energies exclusively to supplying their Christian brethren with the necessary articles of wearing apparel . . . They are very numerous—so much so, that the business to which they confined themselves could hardly have yielded to every individual a fair average California rate of remuneration. But they seemed to be proof against all temptation to move out of their own limited sphere of industry, and of course, concentrated upon one point as their energies were, they kept pace with the go-ahead spirit of the times. Clothing of all sorts could be bought in any parts of the mines mor cheaply than in San Francisco, where rents were so very high that retail prices of everything were most exorbitant, and scarcely did twenty or thirty miners collect in any out-of-the-way place, upon newly discovered diggings, before the inevitable Jew slop-seller also made his appearance, to play his alloted part in the newly-formed community."[13] "It is stated that on hearing of a

rush to a new mining excitement in the interior, a Jewish merchant in San Francisco sent a relative to view the prospect and advise on the proposition of opening a store. A few days afterward he received a telegram from his relative, sent from a telegraph office, the nearest to the new diggings, reading: 'Come. It was richness.' Such was the way they kept in touch with the movement of the mining population and they were soon on the spot with the necessary goods to feed, clothe and supply the heedless rushers."[13a] ("A well-known showman of that time was used to often remark, he could easily gauge the prosperity of a mining-town by the number of Jewish storekeepers it maintained and the size of its Chinatown."[14])

Thus, the Jews furnished the miners with much needed goods. The miners realized this, and on the whole their relations seem to have been most friendly.

Many Jewish storekeepers, as they accumulated money, with "their backing of experienced miners, gave material aid in developing the mining industry of the State."[13b] Jews, accordingly, sometimes shared in the ownership of mines. "I had a Jewish friend who had 500 shares in these mines."[13c] Sometimes they acted as brokers in the transactions of the mining companies. "Thursday I went on to Sacramento to meet my Hebrew, the agent for the Placerville quartz property... At Placerville by four P.M. my Hebrew put me in his shop; he got dinner ready, beefsteak and coffee, our plates were laid on the counter, amongst woolen frocks, shirts, stockings, boots, trousers, jewelry, etc.; we afterwards slept in the shop. I had a comfortable corner, my Hebrew opposite to me. Breakfasted next morning at the counter again."[13d] In certain mining localities, every clothing-store was called a "Jew shop," whether or not the owner was a Jew.[15] For the ordinary workingmen, too, particularly seamen (who were the first to buy ready-made clothing in America), the purchase of clothes means a visit to a Jewish store: "An old sailor . . . he generally commenced by going to a Jew's slop-shop, where he rigged himself out in a new suit of clothes."[16]

NonJews, commenting as above on the Jews as storekeepers, tried to explain their success in the clothing-business by the concentration of their energies "upon one point," or referred to them, truly enough of many, as "those much abused but elastic

and persistent tradesmen."[17] "The almost universal success of the Jews, as merchants, in California," concludes a Jew, "must be attributed to some peculiar reasons; for while many of all nations have succeeded in this State, yet, as a general thing, no class of people who began with so small a capital, have accumulated the same amount of fortune. Any close observer will find that their individual industry dispenses with the necessity for extra clerks, who, at the exorbitant rates necessary for their support, soon make sad inroads upon the monthly profit. They seldom pay unwarrantable rents, being willing to submit to many inconveniences rather than indulge in extravagance. They eschew all display of brilliant fixtures or other unnecessary expenses, but study economy in every department of their business.

"Yet, after years of success, when they are conscious of their ability to display their wares and merchandise, then you may find a few who indulge in such outlays.

"Their method of conducting business is also worthy of consideration. They seem anxious to dispose of their stock in a short time, and at little profit, and you will generally find throughout the country, that their stores are known as the 'cheap stores.' This is a great secret of trade; and when once that reputation is acquired, the custom will seek that store. For the most part, they first seek this enviable notoriety for their establishment, and then, by courtesy and a determination to give satisfaction, success seems inevitable; and what is thereby gained, economy secures."[18]

Accordingly, we are not unprepared for the following description of a "Jewish" store in California at that time. "The Jew slop-shops were generally rattle-trap erections about the size of a bathing-machine, so small that one-half of the stock had to be displayed suspended from projecting sticks outside. They were filled with red and blue flannel shirts, thick boots, and other articles suited to the wants of the miners, along with Colt's revolvers and bowie-knives, brass jewelry, and diamonds like young Koh-i-noors."[19]

We have another description of a store in those days—run by a Jew. "Amongst our population of that golden day, we had *one Jew*. The old miners will always remember Dutch John. When I arrived in the diggings, old friends hailed from every side, and an invitation was soon given to all hands to go down to Dutch

John's and take a *big drink.* As John's store was a fair sample of the trading establishments of the day, a short description may not be uninteresting. The *building,* like all others then used, consisted of brush cut from the closest trees; his stock of goods, two boxes of crackers, a few boxes of sardines, a few knives (sample of every pattern ever made), a half box of tobacco, and two barrels of the *youngest* whiskey I had ever tasted. The counter was the head of an empty barrel, set off with a broken tumbler, tin cup, and a junk bottle of the ardent. Scales and weights were not much then in use, and John's store had none. A drink was paid for by his taking a *pinch* of gold dust with his thumb and forefinger from the miner's bag, or sorting out a lump the size and value of a dollar according to Jewish ideas of such things. Before taking the pinch from the bag, John's finger and thumb could be seen sliding down his throat (as far as the balance of his hand would permit) for the purpose of covering them with saliva, to make the gold stick, and he then thrust it into the miner's *pile.* The amount of such a pinch was from four to eight dollars! . . . This mode of settling was looked upon rather as a source of fun for the miners, than as an imposition."[20] In reading such an account, however, an allowance should be made for the humor of the time and place—a humor which also included a generous pinch of exaggeration.

Constant dealing in gold developed an astonishing knowledge of its characteristics. "They could tell at sight from the color of the gold, its fineness and value per ounce and, besides that, they could invariably name the locality where it had been dug. To this fact was due the following incident. The Iowa Hill express office was robbed one night of a large quantity of gold dust. Officers investigating the robbery were unable to obtain a clue and after a few days' search concluded the robbers had departed and might sell the gold elsewhere. Circulars were sent out all over the State giving particulars of the robbery. A short time after this a communication was received from an El Dorado County gold dust buyer stating that a miner claiming to be working in a ravine in El Dorado County, was selling small quantities of Iowa Hill gold dust mixed with that he mined in El Dorado County. The buyer knew it was Iowa Hill gold dust from its characteristics and fineness and at the times he had bought it, he did

not know of the robbery. This information led to the robber being traced, located and arrested."[21]

The shacks, just described, marked an advance in prosperity for many Jews: these were those who began as peddlers. The Jewish peddler was common. One of the local humorists described the peddler's progress as follows. "A Jew Peddler in the 50s. His four degrees of business: 1st. Mit a pack on his back. 2nd. Mit a horse and wagon. 3rd. Mit a store. 4th. Mit a bank or bankrupt."[22]

Peddlers, as they made their rounds in the mining districts, were sometimes robbed and murdered. One of the Anglo-Jewish newspapers of that day printed, for example, the following, and it may well have been typical of many incidents, discussed perhaps once or twice when Jews gathered to buy goods at a wholesaler's or to gossip before, or after, prayers; and then forgotten except by relatives. "A soldier who arrived at this place today (Elko, Nevada, April 4, 1869), from Fort Halleck, states that two Israelites were killed a few miles from there. The bodies, which wer found in the water, have been buried in the camp. The soldier who assisted in burying the same, gave his opinion, that the murderous deed must have been done five or six weeks ago. The name of one of the unfortunates was, it is said, Stencil, a cousin of Ellis, in San Francisco, and Ellis, Salt Lake. He came to California from New York a year ago, and was a native of Thorn (Prussia), a tall, slim, light-complected, and light-haired man. The other man's name was Louison, dark-complected, with black whiskers. Both were peddlers, and had, as it is stated, a considerable sum of money with them. Our co-religionists of Elko collected some money for the purpose of bringing the bodies to this place, and forward the same either to Sacramento or San Francisco; but the officers of the camp would not allow them to remove the bodies, unless they receive a written notice from some relations or officials. Any person, to whom it may concern, or who may wish further information, may communicate with Mr. H. Bash of Elko, Nev., who is willing to render his services in this case."[22a]

Fire was a constant source of loss and danger. The "hastily built business sections of the mining towns were [constantly] swept away by fire . . . [and the] names of the Jewish merchants were always among the heaviest losers."[22b]

Some merchants in San Francisco and elsewhere had a branch store in one or more mining communities.[22c]

When gold was discovered in British Columbia in 1858, Jews went there as miners or as merhants: "... there is an extraordinary excitement in California. New gold mines have been discovered in the British possessions north of Washington Territory on the banks of the Fraser and Thompson rivers... There are few Jews among the pioneers who are almost entirely miners with pick and shovel, and a few speculators well provided with capital. However, a few left on the last two steamers..."[22d] This place [the Forks of Quesnelle] is the principal depot for provisions and materials for the mines, being about fifty miles from the gold region of Antler Creek and adjacent parts of Cariboo. The town at the Forks consists of general stores (mostly kept by Jews) and drinking shops..."[22e] A city directory of Victoria, in 1863, when the city had about six thousand inhabitants, contains a fairly large number of names that might very well be those of Jews. Many came directly to California from British Columbia.[22f]

Not all Jews went to California to trade: many tried mining[23] and then turned to something else[24]—Jews as well as others. The Swiss opened inns; the Italians planted vineyards and made wine.

"We learn from California," said the *Wiener Jahrbuch* in 1865, "of the success Jews have there as farmers. In the North, as far up as Carson, Jews have cultivated thousands of acres and transformed the wilderness into fertile soil. Messrs. Mandelbaum and Klauber receive for hay alone no less than $100,000 annually. Louis Trelinor established huge vineyards near Sonoma and he succeeded exceptionally well. Many other names could be listed with commendation. Jewish agriculturists are most frequent along the San Joaquin river, in Sonoma, in the valleys of San Jose and Conta Costa."[25] This sounds somewhat too enthusiastic for the facts. But the Agricultural Society of California in 1869 did award a gold medal to L. Landsberger of San Francisco for his achievements in viniculture.[26]

Less successful were the following: "Moses Gardner, born about 1815 in Shaki [in the province of Suwalki] . . . came to New York in 1849 and became a glazier. He went to California in about 1851. He and Abraham Helfman were among the Rus-

sian Jews who, preferring farm life to peddling or keeping petty stores, formed a company and bought a plantation near Sacramento, where they engaged in agriculture and rested on Sabbath days. Emanuel Blochman, an Alsatian Jew, joined the company. (He was the translator and publisher of Benamosegh's 'Jewish and Christian Ethics,' with a criticism on Mohammedanism, San Francisco, 1873.) They did not succeed, owing to the overflow of the Sacramento River in December 1852 and January 1853, which caused much damage to the farm which was then abandoned."[27]

Jewish wine-dealers assisted in its sale;[28] and Isaac Friedlander became known as the "grain-king" because of his large transactions.[29]

Other Jews make their appearance in the pages of early California history as ranchers or hunters and trappers. Such a character seems to have been a companion of Peter Lassen, one of the "trail blazers" of California. Lassen's companion was a Russian or Polish Jew, named Isadore Meyerwitz. His death occurred in July, 1856, when his boat capsized in Honey Lake.[30]

"In California," said the exuberant *Wiener Jahrbuch* again, "the influence of the Jews who settled there in large numbers is steadily growing. The departures of steamers and the dates of court sessions are being postponed if they coincide with Jewish holidays."[31] A more sedate report says merely of the observance of "Jom Kipur" in San Francisco: "Nearly all places of business conducted by co-religionists being closed, some streets of our city had a Sunday-like appearance. To accommodate our Hebrew merchants, the North Pacific Transportation Company's steamer *California,* for San Diego and way ports, which ought to have left on Monday last, was detained until Wednesday, September 27th."[32]

How large the number of Jews in California at this time actually was no one could tell. A number, of course, remained only for a while and returned East. Daniel Levy estimated the number of Jews in San Francisco (October 30, 1855) as follows: "It is impossible to give the number, even approximately, of the number of Israelites in California [but] it is estimated that those of San Francisco are more than three thousand."[33] *The Voice of Israel* estimated in 1856 that the Jews of California numbered between thirty and fifty thousand—about a tenth of the population.[33a] This was certainly an exaggeration. About the time of the Civil War,

the number of Jews was quoted as ten thousand for all of California and about five thousand for San Francisco:[34] this seems more accurate.

III

The Jewish Community of San Francisco

San Francisco, the gateway to California and the West, and Sacramento, the center for supplying the northern mines with provisions and equipment, were the cities where the larger communities of Jews—who were chiefly merchants—first developed. Later Stockton, the center of supply for the southern mines, and other places had their Jewish communities. Los Angeles developed slowly and was, at first, a marketing center for the mines a long journey north of the village and a starting-point for transcontinental traffic.

There was a constant hustling from San Francisco to Sacramento and then on to the mines. From there the miners, the successful as well as the disappointed, came back to Sacramento or San Francisco. In the case of Sacramento, there was a constant change in the Jewish population during the early years. The situation was somewhat more stable in San Francisco. Here Jewish firms had been founded that were, more or less, successful. In the columns of the San Francisco newspapers, when we read about growing establishments, new buildings, connections with the East, the size of stocks, the expansion of operations and the establishment of branches in the mining towns, and shipments of gold to the Atlantic states, when the total worth of the larger firms are listed, we find a number of Jewish firms among them.

There was much criticism of those who went back East with their new fortunes. "It strikes us," said the *Occident* in 1852, one of the leading Anglo-Jewish newspapers of that day, edited by the Reverend Isaac Leeser, "that if the people were settled once, in the respective towns, and that they purposed ending their days there, and did not regard themselves as mere roving sojourners, and homeless adventurers, we should soon hear of many and permanent communities being formed at all the prominent places in California and Oregon. But our misfortune is, that many seek the distant

West for no other reason than to acquire all the wealth possible, in the least imaginable space of time; hence the idea of making any spot their home there, does not enter their imagination; and hence they are not willing to contribute a large amount of funds towards erecting suitable houses of prayer and engaging ministers of the mental capacity, and moral qualifications, such as are most needed, in a new country, to act as missionaries, and, to use an expressive word, as apostles of our faith. Still this evil will correct itself every day more, as the country becomes more settled..."[1]

The San Francisco correspondent for the *Asmonean,* another Anglo-Jewish journal, writing somewhat earlier (March 31, 1851), is, if anything, as optimistic: "...of late there has been quite an accession of ladies with their children. This will tend to improve and consolidate society, for when I first arrived the community nearly destitute of the fair part of creation, you may be assured it was in a terribly disorganized state. Men having no homes, or none of the comforts which render even a respectable boarding-house in the large cities of the states attractive, were driven to find in dissipation a relief to the ennui which overwhelmed them, and the excitement of gaming afforded employment the most seductive, for the many leisure hours which the then system of business entailed on a man. All this is changed..." And the same issue adds the following: "There are so many persons who have returned to the states and brought their families here, with the avowed determination of finally settling, that public feeling has decided on erecting a permanent building for a synagogue."[2]

As a matter of fact, progress had really been made since the High Holidays of 1849 when "About forty or fifty Israelites . . . engaged a room to celebrate the ensuing Fast day . . . [and contemplated] building a Synagogue . . . shortly."[3] The same mail that brought the *Asmonean* the above report that "public feeling has decided on erecting a permanent building for a synagogue" brought the news that $4400 had been collected for that purpose and "the signatures of 185 future members of the congregation gathered."[4] Not quite six years later, a San Francisco newspaper, citing the local Jewish newspaper, the *Voice of Israel* as its authority, stated that there were three synagogues in the city. However, "Only two of the San Francisco synagogues—the

Sherith Israel and the Emanuel—are, from their position, capable, at present, of engaging a minister at such a salary as would warrant the right to expect a competent party. In the Emanuel, the salary is fixed at $3000 per annum, for a minister, reader and teacher."[5]

In the contemporary *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years* by Jacques J. Lyons and Abraham De Sola, published in 1854 at Montreal, we find among the communities listed eight in California. Of San Francisco, the following is recorded: "First assembly for prayers was on Rosh Shana, 5610–1849. (1) K. K.* Imanuel. Organized, 5611–851. Synagogue in Kearney Street, between Pine and Bush Streets, President Mr. Henry Seligman. (2) K. K.* Shearith Israel. Organized, 5611–1851. Synagogue in Kearney Street, near Broadway. President Mr. J. Solomons. (3) K. K.* Shaar Ashamaim. Portuguese Minhag.** Organized, September 5613–1853. First Beth Haim was purchased and enclosed in 1850." Of these congregations, the only minutes preserved from that time are those of Sherith Israel; the minutes of Emanu-El were lost in the fire that followed the great earthquake of 1906.[5a]

The *Calendar* also listed the Jewish societies of the city: '(1) Hebrew Benevolent Society. Organized, 1850. President Mr. Lewis Cohen. This Society purchased a Beth Haim*** in April 1850. (2) The Eureka Society consisting of German Jews, established in October 1850."

The members of Sherith Israel were also members of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, or "First Hebrew Benevolent Society" as it was generally called; and the members of Emanu-El of the Eureka Benevolent Society. Both societies, it appears, were somewhat older than the congregations. In the case of "Shaar Ashamaim," likewise, its burial society was older than the congregation itself. The earliest congregations of San Francisco, then, as was generally the case in the new American communities, were formed in societies already existing for the purposes of mutual help or burial.

But the membership of the societies remained larger than

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* The customary abbreviation for "Kehillah Kedosha" (also "Kahal Kadosh"), a congregation.

*** Literally, "the house of the living"; a cemetery.

** Ritual.

the membership of the congregations. According to Benjamin, who visited San Francisco in 1861, the First Hebrew Benevolent Society then had 225 members and Shearith Israel 110; Eureka had 300 members and Emanu-El 260. This,[5b] too, followed the general rule: many Jews of San Francisco, as in all the cities of the United States from the middle of the century on, belonged to no congregation. This was particularly true of the larger Jewish communities. Here the congregations could no longer force Jews to belong by refusing, for example, burial, except on payment of a penalty, for those who had refused to become members. In San Francisco, as in other cities, there were Jewish burial societies and Jewish cemeteries independent of, or (as we have just seen) in existence before, any Jewish congregation. By 1883, of about 17,000 Jews in San Francisco, it was estimated that only 1192 were members of congregations; 1798 men and 681 women belonged to the benevolent societies; and 1179 to B'nai B'rith and other Jewish orders.[6-9]

However, in San Francisco as in the cities of the East, there were places of worship just for the High Holy Days for those who belonged to no congregation.[10] There were seven such places of worship in San Francisco in 1863; and all of them were said to have had a good attendance.[11] "A number of Minjanim* were improvised [for the Holidays], some for the benefit of the suffering poor in eastern Russia, and all were well attended, and realized handsome sums [1869]."[12]

In the *Calendar by* Lyons and De Sola, quoted above, the Eureka Society is listed as "consisting of German Jews." The membership of Emanu-El, however, was not exclusively German although in time it became known as "the Bavarian synagogue." When Benjamin visited the city (1861), French Jews were also members.[12a] Sherith Israel was Polish and, according to Benjamin, followed the "pure Polish Minhag."[12b] Among its members, he says, were "Northern Europeans or Englishmen." By "Northern Europeans," he undoubtedly meant Jews from the Prussian province of Posen who were still more Polish than German and so considered by the other German Jews—chiefly from Bavaria. By the "pure Polish Minhag" or ritual, Benjamin also meant that

* Plural of *Minyan,* a gathering for worship having, at least, the requisite number for a congregation—ten male adults.

Sherith Israel was "orthodox," in contrast to Emanu-El: the latter congregation had adopted a number of "reforms" under the leadership of their rabbi, Dr. Elkan Cohn. But more of this later.

Stricter in their orthodoxy than Sherith Israel was a small group of about thirty, almost all Russian Jews, in a congregation called [in a variety of spellings] Shomrai Shabas. "This congregation so exactly perpetuates the usages, customs and habits of the Russian Jews, that they cover the floor of the Synagogue with straw during the Kippur-day; because in their country the Synagogues were paved with stone, and they wearing no shoes on that day are obliged to cover the floor with straw; they continue this custom also in San Francisco, although their Synagogue is not paved with stones."[13]

A group in Emanu-El, unwilling to accept Dr. Cohn's changes, formed another congregation in 1864—Ohabai Shalome.[13a] Beth Israel, also an orthodox congregation, had been founded in 1861. Twelve years later, it was said to have 141 members[13b] and, according to Isaac M. Wise, was then "perhaps the only orthodox congregation in the city, with a considerable German element among the Polish." The rabbi preached in German.[13c] (Since these "Polish" Jews were probably from the Prussian province of Posen, they had no trouble understanding him as well as did the Jews from Bavaria.)

In 1879, Emanu-El was the wealthiest congregation in the city.[13d] Fully twenty years before, as stated above, it had 260 members—more than twice as many as Sherith Israel with 110.[13e] "Of the five Jewish congregations," said *Bancroft's Tourist's Guide* in 1871, "this [Emanu-El] has 'The Synagogue par excellence'—the one always meant when one speaks of 'The Jewish Synagogue.' It is an elegant and costly structure . . . Total cost, including lot, $185,000, gold coin."[14] "The Jewish synagogue, on Sutter street, is a very large and imposing edifice, richly furnished inside and out, and in point of wealth and grandeur might be taken for Solomon's temple. Its circular towers overlook the city, and like the shot tower, are among the first objects that attract the stranger's eye."[15] This was the congregation's second synagogue, erected in 1866.[16]

The Jewish community of San Francisco was about as strict —or lax—in their religious observances as most of the other Jewish

communities in the United States. The High Holy Days were pretty generally observed. "On the first day of New Year and Kippur [1860] but three Jewish stores were kept open in San Francisco; this is a tremendous progress over former indifferences . . ."[17] Their religious observance of those days was not as respected by non-Jews, certainly not by officials, as it would be today. For example:

> "A case exciting great interest has engaged the attention of the courts in San Francisco. Mr. Levy, a Jew, had been summoned as a juror in the Supreme Court, but failing to appear, was sent for, and found to be at his devotions in the Synagogue. He informed the officer that the day was observed by those of his faith as the Festival of Atonement, and that it would be impossible for him to serve. The Judge instantly imposed a fine of $500, subsequently reduced to $250, upon the delinquent, who, with the pecuniary aid of his co-religionists, proposes to contest the case, and settle a vexatious religious difficulty."[18]

Observing the Sabbath was another matter. Isaac M. Wise wrote in his *Israelite*:

> "There is not one Jewish wholesale merchant in San Francisco who could not observe his Sabbath without any loss or inconvenience for in most instances the Jewish merchants govern the market in their particular branch; but they do not from sheer frivolity or indifference. I have told them all that in their synagogues."[19]

Elkan Cohn, however, the "Reform" rabbi of Emanu-El, actually persuaded the members of his congregation for a while to observe the Sabbath[20]—at least those who were wholesalers. "For nearly one year they remained closed. But then he left on a vacation to Europe. When he had returned from across the Atlantic the whole scene was again changed, and the stores had been reopened, one after the other had clandestinely entered his business place; mercantile competition did the rest . . ."[21]

During the Passover, Jews ate matzoths, although these were not always in sufficient supply.[21a] "Simchas Torah" was celebrated.[22] So was Purim.[23] "Kosher" meat was to be had and, apparently, was fairly plentiful.[24] Intermarriage was not common; and the rite of circumcision was generally observed [1862].[25] There were disputes in congregations, as in other Jewish communities of the United States, turning on minor questions of ritual de-

pending on where the congregants originally came from in Europe. Sometimes, it was not a matter of ritual at all but merely, for example, of Pole preferring Pole and Bavarian Bavarian.[26]

The two leading charitable organizations of the Jewish community of San Francisco, the First Hebrew Benevolent Society and the Eureka, as the first Jewish organizations in the city,[27] have been described to some extent above. There were in addition other charitable organizations, as well as those that were intended for mutual aid, and societies that met only for diversion. By 1880, San Francisco had no less than thirty Jewish organizations.

The First Hebrew Benevolent Society was reorganized in 1853 and incorporated in 1862. Its membership at that time numbered 260.[28] According to Benjamin, the First Hebrew Benevolent Society consisted entirely of English and so-called "Polish" Jews. They had all been members of the Eureka, he was told, and it was explained that they left the society because the president, supported by the German majority, refused to help one of the victims of San Francisco's fires "probably because he was unfortunate enough to be a Pole."[30c] More than ten years had elapsed since the founding of these organizations and Benjamin's account, and the truth of it may be doubted, if for no other reason than that it was unlikely that the second benevolent society would call itself the "First." Undoubtedly, however, its members were chiefly English and "Polish" and the members of the Eureka chiefly German with a number of French Jews.[30d] That the societies restricted their membership or aid according to nationality has been denied, and there is no reason for assuming that they did.[31]

In 1858, the Eureka Benevolent Society had 180 members. They each paid $2 a month in dues, and the society had already accumulated $10,000. This was invested partly in real estate and part was out at interest.[29] In another five years, the society's capital had more than doubled.[30] Benjamin printed the constitution and by-laws of Eureka in full.[30a] The Eureka transacted its business in German and permission to speak in English had to be obtained from the president. August Helbing was president of the Eureka for many years. He ran it with a high hand. For example, when a Jewish gambler was shot and killed, some of the members were against a Jewish burial, but Helbing insisted on it and reinforced his arguments by drawing a pistol.[31]

Two women's organizations for assisting Hebrew women in want were organized in 1855: one "Polish" and the other predominantly German. The former was the Ladies' United Hebrew Benevolent Society[32] and the latter Der Israelitische Frauenverein. The German society was the second organized simply because its members, many of them newly arrived in this country, wished to conduct their meetings in German.[33] It may be assumed that these societies were chiefly social, for, according to Benjamin, there were no Jewish women in want in San Francisco at that time and, indeed, few Jewish women.[34]

Beth Israel was originally organized both as a benevolent society and congregation, saving, as it were, the step from benevolent society to congregation.[35]

But if benevolent societies appealed to the Jews of some means who felt themselves more or less secure, mutual aid societies were particularly attractive to the poor and insecure. Such a society was the Chebra Bikur Cholim Ukedischa, organized in 1857 to assist sick and needy members with medical attendance, medicine, and nursing,[36] and the Chebra B'rith Shalome.[37] At the time of Benjamin's stay in San Francisco, the former had about 200 members and the latter 105.[38] Considering that most of the members of Chebra B'rith Shalome were not only new arrivals in California but were most likely newly arrived in the United States, it is worth noting that, unlike the Eureka Benevolent Society whose business had to be in German,[38a] its constitution provided as early as 1860 that all its business—proceedings, speeches, motions, and books—was to be in English.[39] Less important were the Chebrah Achim Rachmonim Association, organized in 1862 to care for sick and infirm members, membership about sixty,[40] and the Hebrew Self Protecting Association, incorporated in 1863, to aid its members "in sickness and misfortune."[41]

Finally, special aid efforts for special groups were organized, as for commercial clerks:

> "Aid Society for the Commercial Clerks ("Commis").
> During the election on the third of this month the following gentlemen were elected as officers for the current year: Louis Schwarzschild, President; Carl Schneittacher and Albert Dallemana, Vice-Presidents; M. Augustine, Treasurer; A. Langfeldt, Corresponding Secretary; S. Regensburger, Financial Secretary; E. Kohnstam, S.

Silberman and W. Kaiser, Directors; A. Neustaedter, Librarian." (Daily Evening Bulletin, January 30, 1856, p. 2.)

A cemetery, as in other Jewish communities, was the first Jewish communal undertaking in San Francisco.[42] Between 1850 and 1854 fifty burials took place.[43] Later (1861), Sherith Israel dedicated its own cemetery—Giboth Olom.[44] Congregation Emanu-El had its own cemetery, too—Nevai Shalome.[45] The "old" cemetery was soon neglected. "For a few years," wrote the San Francisco *Hebrew* in 1868, "several societies paid their proportion to keep the fences in repair; but of late nothing has been done . . . let a meeting of Israelites be called, and some plan devised by which this place can be kept in a proper condition, as it certainly should."[46]

A Jewish orphan-asylum was established at San Francisco in 1874 to serve the Pacific Coast.[47]

The Jewish fraternal orders of the East and Middle West were soon represented on the Coast. Ophir Lodge (No. 21) of B'nai B'rith was established in 1855.[48] It had eighty-four members by 1860.[49] The second B'nai B'rith lodge, Modin (No. 42), had forty-five members at the time Benjamin was in San Francisco.[50] A charitable society of Orthodox Jews, a branch of the Order Kesher shel Barzel, was also organized at San Francisco. Daniel Levy included it in his description of the charities of that city in 1865;[51] and it became popular among Jews along the Coast—it had about three hundred members in San Francisco alone.[52]

The literary and debating clubs for young people, popular throughout the country at that time, were to be found among the Jews of California, too. The Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association, for example, organized in 1855, had seventy-five members in 1858.[53] By the end of 1859, the membership had grown to 130.[54] Benjamin praised its library of Hebrew, English, and German books.[55]

As in other cities, Jewish social clubs were organized. When Isaac M. Wise visited San Francisco in 1877, he was impressed by the Concordia's clubhouse as "an elegant place."[56]

Dr. Julius Eckman, rabbi of Sherith Israel, founded the first Jewish school in San Francisco in 1854—Heptsi-Bah. It had no connection with any congregation. Five or six years later, Benjamin described it as follows:

"Sixty children attend that school where they receive training in all subjects of regular English and Jewish schools. On Saturdays and Sundays about 100-200 pupils attend to be instructed in Biblical history and in the essential doctrines of Jewish religion."[57]

Poor children were admitted free.[58] When Benjamin visited the school, Eckman also had a kindergarten for children from three to five.[59]

Bien, rabbi of Emanu-El, also tried to establish a school and called it "The New Institute." But it could not escape some of the odium attached to Bien and was called in *The Israelite* (1856) "like himself a great humbug."[60] It did not last any longer than his incumbency.

"All the schools," said *The American Israelite,* reporting the situation in San Francisco about 1858, "prove a failure.

Those of Messrs. Bien, Henry and Solomon are no more. Emanuel congregation pay a teacher, Mr. D. Levy, $75 a month for religious instruction. But he was found out to be so ignorant on the subject, that they would not send him their children. Dr. Eckman's school also has not more than 25 to 40 pupils. Things are much declining here, notwithstanding the good will of the members and the money sacrifices."[60a]

Dr. Elkan Cohn opened a school, connected with Emanu-El, the year of his arrival as the rabbi of that congregation (1860). Benjamin reported that it had four grades with a total attendance of ninety (ten were charity pupils). Four languages were taught: Hebrew, German, English,and French. Daniel Levy taught the latter three and Dr. Cohn Hebrew and religion. The school had both boys and girls. Benjamin thought it on an "academic livel."[61] (Later, Beth Israel had its own school, too, and in 1879 had published a "Catechism for Instruction in the Mosaic Religion" for its pupils.)[62]

The city directory for 1863, estimating the Jews of San Francisco then as from "5,000 to 8,000 souls," added:

"To judge from the great increase of pupils of the religious schools they must have increased considerably since late years. The number of children attending religious instructions in 1854, was from forty to fifty, while the two schools now count nearly three hundred, besides a number that receive private instructions or none at all."[63]

But a Jewish observer of the community was not enthusiastic: "... Not one of our wealthy men has thus far given his son an

> education, and they seem to count the days when they will be large enough to stand behind the counter, or collect a bill on steamer day . . .
>
> To judge from the present, the future of Judaism in this city looks dark indeed. Our children grow up without the knowledge of the essence of our holy religion. Not until three months to 'Bar Mizwah,' the father bestirs himself, engages a Hazen, to teach his boy the blessing before the 'Sefer.' At last the great day arrives; the agony is over; 'Baruch Shepatrani,' there is a dinner, a speech, a present of a watch, and before you stands Israel's future son in California."[64]

However, a year or so later, we find Jews petitioning the regents of the state university to provide instruction in Hebrew.[65]

Dr. Julius Eckman, like other rabbis in the country, began the publication of a periodical. This was the "Gleaner," a weekly, and the first number appeared in 1855. According to its advertisement, it was devoted not only to "religion, education, biblical and general antiquities," but also to "natural curiosities, literature, domestic economy, domestic medicine and general news."[66] In 1856, another Jewish weekly, "The Voice of Israel," was established in San Francisco "devoted to the moral, political and social interests of the Israelites in California." The editors were the Rev. H. Bien and Henry J. Labatt: the latter, as we shall see below,[67] had already made himself a spokesman for the Jews of California in the local press.[68] "The Voice of Israel" had a page in German, headed "Rebekka," as a supplement for the women.[69] By the twentieth number (1857), it was said to have a circulation of two thousand.[70]

The *Hebrew Observer* of San Francisco, also established in 1856, had a circulation of about 1800 in 1876—at least printed that many copies[71]—and so did the San Francisco *Hebrew*.[72] The former must have been fairly prosperous, for when in 1881 the editor of the New York *Jewish Messenger* said in a moment of reproach or self-pity, "No Jewish journal can yet point to its own building, or its editor to his steam yacht,"[73] the editor replied: "Thanks to 25 years of uninterrupted prosperity, the *Hebrew Observer* can of boast these luxuries." In 1904, by that time called the *Jewish Times and Observer*, it began "the fiftieth consecutive year" of publication.[74]

The publisher of the *Hebrew* was Philo Jacoby. He had a local reputation as a "strong man": " . . . during the Civil War,"

ran one account, "at an exhibition given at Platt's Hall for the Sanitary Fund, several athletes were conspicuous, one of them being Philo Jacoby, who suspended his own weight with his fingers..."[77] *The Hebrew,* a weekly, had articles in German as well as articles in English. Jacoby was also a sharpshooter and became world champion at the Philadelphia World Fair in 1876.[77b]

For the Jews in California, as elsewhere in the United States, the Jewish press was an important link to other Jewish communities in this country and in Europe. Those who could afford it subscribed to a Jewish periodical published back East. The two leading Jewish periodicals in the United States, in the decade before the Civil War, were the *Occident* and the *American Israelite,* and both had subscribers in California. The *Occident,* published in Philadelphia, was Orthodox, and names of subscribers in San Francisco appeared in its columns as early as 1850.[75] The Reform *American Israelite,* published in Cincinnati, had many more subscribers and was read in more communities.[76]

The California Jewish periodicals and reports from California were not only of great interest to the Jewish communities of the East but, because of the interest in California, to the great Jewish communities of Europe. The contents of the California Jewish papers were thus frequently reprinted here and abroad and now that most of the early numbers of these papers have been lost some of their contents have in this way been preserved.

The Orthodox *Israelit,* published in Mayence, Germany, had as its California correspondent A. Englaender.[77a] He was born in Floss, Bavaria.[78] Englaender was probably the same man who performed the first circumcision in the neighborhood of Downieville, a mining camp.[79] If so, he was engaged in farming for a time.[80] He went north finally to Walla-Walla and was murdered there. According to one account, he had ordered one George Porter, a former deputy sheriff out of his house, and the man returned with a gun and killed him;[81] according to another account, which adds a couple of details: "Mr. Englander from San Francisco" had just completed the Oriental Hotel at Walla-Walla. A "lady . . . asked protection of Mr. Englander," and, as a result of trying to protect her, he was murdered.[82]

Daniel Levy was the reporter for the Archives Israélites.[83]

For a number of years, Isidor (Isaiah) N. Choyinski, whose

pen-name was "Maftir," [the last one called to the reading of the Torah at the Sabbath service and, figuratively in this case, one who has the last word], was the correspondent of the *American Israelite.*[84] For his living, Choyinski was a bookseller and dealt in stationery. He had some standing in the local community and was president of one of the mutual aid societies—Chebra B'rith Shalome.[85] He was also at one time head of the Young Men's Hebrew Association.[85a] His son, Joe Choynski, became a well-known heavyweight boxer.

One sample of the "Maftir's" society-reporting may suffice:

> "Never before did we have a *Lulav* and *Esrog* pedler. One of our late importations canvassed the city on *Succoth,* and invited the Jews to take a shake-price: *nach belieben*—two bits minimum. This is an entire new industry, and though nine-tenths of our Jews care no more for a *Lulaw*-shake than they do for an earthquake the fellow who invented the method of carrying the olive branch and the Eva apple from house to house, made more money in a single forenoon than any of our Rabbis make in a month." AI, vol. 30, No. 18, p. 5.

The Jewish community of San Francisco, like Jewish communities elsewhere, was not insensible to the misfortunes of their fellow Jews in less fortunate lands. A branch of the French organization for the assistance of persecuted Jews everywhere, the Alliance Universelle, was organized in San Francisco and soon had more than 250 members.[86] The San Francisco Jewish community joined in sending aid to Palestine in 1865.[87] Dr. Julius Eckman, leaving his ministry in the city for one at Portland, Oregon, gave the sum presented to him at a farewell dinner to aid needy Jews in Russia.[88] Another account states that the sum of $10,000 was raised for poor children and the assistance of Jews in Eastern Europe (including East Prussia), and given to Dr. Eckman for that purpose at the dinner in his honor.[89] An immigrant society was organized in 1869 to help poor Jews in Europe emigrate to the United States. The society had about four hundred members and, a year or so after its organization, sent $500 to Berlin for those "in immediate need."[90] However, the desire to help Russian Jews emigrate to America at the time seemed limited to California and at that only to a handful—those least able to help as well as "less numerous and less conservative."[91]

Earlier, the Mortara Case, involving an Italian Jewish child secretly baptized by its nurse and taken from its parents by the Papal police, aroused great indignation among the Jews of San Francisco as elsewhere in the United States. A mass meeting was held in 1859 to protest the action of the church, and in this meeting the leading Jewish organizations of the city joined.[92]

As part of the general community of the city, the Jews were, of course, interested in its peace and order. A number of Jews belonged to the Vigilantes when first organized in 1851. Among somewhat more than seven hundred members, about thirty or so were Jews: these included A. Ottenheimer (Number 63), Jesse Seligman (Number 79), and Samuel Marx (Number 83), of the first to enroll; and Samuel Fleischhacker, Michael Hellman, S. K. Labatt and S. Lazard.[93] Jews appeared before the Committee of Vigilance as witnesses; Joseph Marks, for example, "indicates the more important members of Stuarts gang."[94] When the Vigilance Committee was revived in 1856, most of the Jews joined the party supporting it.[95] Those who opposed the Committee specifically included the Jews in their attacks in the press.[96]

In addition, the Jews were attacked by those interested in closing not only the saloons but stores selling merchandise on Sunday. Introducing a bill in 1855, to close the stores in the counties of Santa Clara and Santa Cruz on Sunday, the Speaker of the State House of Representatives, Stowe, took this occasion to attack the Jews generally. The Jewish periodicals throughout the country replied,[97] and Henry J. Labatt became one of the spokesmen for the Jews of California.[98] The *Los Angeles Star,* after printing an open letter of Labatt to Stowe and reporting the "excitement" among the Jews in San Francisco and Sacramento, those directly affected, added editorially:

> ". . . Mr. Stowe has seen fit to denounce the Jews in unmeasured terms . . . Such bigoted views show an intolerance entirely adverse to the spirit and character of our institutions. A large majority of the Jews in San Francisco, according to Mr. Labatt's statement, are in favor of a Sunday bill, and we have no doubt, a large portion of our Jewish citizens here and throughout the State would sanction and support a bill that was uniform in its operations. If the principle to be obtained is to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath, then it should be made to apply to the whole State and not to one or two isolated Counties."[99]

In 1858, the Supreme Court of California held the Sunday Law unconstitutional.

Jews were also members of the California Immigrant Union and among its officers were F. Oppenheim, Alex Weil, Chas. Kohler, and A. Seligman.[100]

The California census for 1860 shows that among the residents 21,646 were born in Germany.[101] The German Jews of San Francisco and the others of German birth seem to have gotten along very well together. Jewish periodicals were printed in German as well as English;[102] and *The Hebrew* even had a column, "Rifle Notes," to chronicle sharpshooting events in Germany (Philo Jacoby, the publisher, was a devotee of the sport.)[103]

During the Franco-German War, the German Jews were as pro-German as any Germans. Jews joined in an appeal for contributions to a relief fund for German war casualties and many Jews contributed.[104] *The Hebrew* printed a long list of the casualties of Jewish soldiers in the German army; it ran for two issues.[105] And, like other Germans, the German Jews rejoiced in the defeat of France. At the masquerade ball of the Eureka Club in 1871 the stage was decorated with German and American flags and a woman wearing a Prussian helmet and dressed in the German colors to symbolize "Die Wacht am Rhein" received first prize.[106] (The French Jews were, of course, as pro-French. Alexander Weill was chairman of a mass-meeting called by the natives of Alsace and Lorraine to protest against the annexation of those provinces by the Germans and three fourths of the names signed to the protest were Jewish. Joseph Aron was treasurer.)[107]

On their part, the Germans of the city recognized the German Jews as part of their own community. The importance of the German Jews in the garment trade, for example, "wholly in the hands of Jewish merchants," was a cause for German pride.[108] The California Jewish newspapers, because they were printed partly in German, were listed in the index to the German press of America.[109] Jews were employed by German newspapers, one, M. Greenblatt, was editor-in-chief of the *California Democrat,* said to be the most influential German newspaper on the Pacific Coast; another Jew, M. Samuels, was owner and editor of the *Abend Post,* a daily evening newspaper.[110] Jews belonged to the first

California "Verein," founded in 1854. In the list of societies whose members were invited to join was the Eureka. Among the charter members were Dr. J. Regensburger, J. Landsberger, and Louis Jacobi; its presidents included Julius Bandmann (1880), F. H. Rosenbaum (1883–4), and Isaac Hecht.[111] (J. Regensburger was one of the earliest physicians in San Francisco; he is listed in a business directory of the *Daily Alta Californian* in 1851).[112] A Mr. Rosenthal, at one time, was the German consul.[113] Rosenthal belonged to the German Pioneer Association.[114]

Of the Jewish community of San Francisco as a whole, a sympathetic observer (who was not a Jew) said in 1876:

> "There is more poverty among them than in New York; yet, taken as a whole, they own more real estate, and command more wealth, comparatively, than in any city of the United States . . . They are leaders in, and control, to a great extent, the principal mercantile businesses. The clothing-trade—here as elsewhere—is monopolized by them, and the principal dry-goods houses, and crockery and Jewelry establishments, belong to Jews. In the manufacturing industries they have control of the shoe and soap factories, and the woolen mills. The manufacture of woolen goods has been very unsuccessful, having changed hands several times, and until it passed into the Jews' control had not reached a solution. Under their management it is assuming important proportions. They are also largely interested in the grain trade of the coast, and the Alaskan fur trade."[115]

Ten members of Temple Emanu-El were then reputed to have an aggregate wealth of 45 millions.[116]

Certainly, there were important figures in the business community among them: important not only for their wealth but for their civic activities. Jesse Seligman, for example, Louis Sloss, Isaac Friedlander, and Adolf Sutro. There were also many lesser figures.

Jesse Seligman was born in Bayersdorf, Germany, 1827. He was one of eight brothers. They ran stores in various parts of the country. Jesse Seligman came to San Francisco, soon after the discovery of gold in California, and opened a clothing-store in the only brick building. It escaped the great fire of 1851 and Seligman, with his stock intact, was on the road to prosperity. The brothers soon saw that they could use their capital to greater advantage in banking than in merchandizing, and established a bank with branches in this country and abroad.

Soon after the United States bought Alaska from Russia, the Alaska Commercial Company was organized in 1868. Louis Sloss was one of the organizers.[117]

Isaac Friedlander, the grain merchant, came from Oldenburg in Germany. As a young man he went to South Carolina, "and from there he sailed on, infected by the Californian gold fever in 1848. . . ."[118]

Louis Sloss was born in 1823 in a village of Bavaria (Untereisenheim). He came to United States in 1845 and at first settled in Louisville. He crossed the plains on horseback in 1849 and settled in Sacramento. Here he established a mercantile house with Simon Greenwaldt—who remained a partner for the rest of their lives—under the firm name of Louis Sloss & Co.[119]

Adolf Sutro, in his autobiographical notes, says that his parents were Jewish and that he had a Jewish education.[120]

On March 25, 1863, A. A. Cohen founded, together with others, a company for a railroad and ferry from San Francisco to Niles.[121]

And when, on June 14, 1876 a concession was granted for a cable-car line, Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins and other capitalists were participants in the venture together with Michael Reese, Louis Sloss and Isaac Wormser. They ran the California Street Cable Railroad Co.[122]

Sloss and his partners were not the only Jews to trade with Alaska. When it was still Russian territory, Solomon Silberstein, a native of Grodno, who came to New York in 1849 and went to California in 1850, was engaged in importing goods from Alaska.

> "Silberstein even ventured across the Bering Strait to Kamchatka and Vladivostock to import merchandise to California. His business increased to such an extent as to make it worthwhile to charter a special vessel to carry his goods, and he would not permit the captain to start on the Sabbath."[123]

Toby Rosenthal, the artist, was brought to San Francisco when a boy by his parents.[124] And David Belasco, son of an actor who came to California in the gold-rush, was born there in 1859.[125]

IV

The Jewish Community of Sacramento

Sacramento, the capital of the state, was also the center of supplies for all the mining area.[1]

The majority of Jewish pioneers, merchants as well as miners, who went to the mining-camps came by way of Sacramento; many returning from the mines stopped in the city. For this reason the Jewish community of Sacramento, more than any other Jewish community in California, had a constantly changing membership.

According to the first directory of Sacramento, published in 1851, by 1850 there were about two hundred Jews in the city.[2] A decade afterwards, according to Benjamin, there were about five hundred.[3] Another estimate had "60 Hebrew families"[4] and, if both were approximately correct, there were a large number of unmarried men. And that was probably true of a pioneering community, to say nothing of a community whose membership was more or less unsettled.

A Hebrew Benevolent Association was organized in 1850, reorganized in 1852, and its first communal undertaking, as was generally the case, was to buy a cemetery.[5] It was incorporated in 1854 as the "Hebrew Benevolent Society."[6] In 1857, the society had about seventy members;[7] in 1859, about seventy-five;[8] and in 1860, according to Benjamin, it had eighty members and $3000 in its treasury.[9]

A second association, known as the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society, was organized in 1855, and in 1859 it had forty members. In another ten years, its membership had doubled and it had about $2000.[10] Its purpose may well have been sociability as well as charity.[11]

In 1863, the elder society built a chapel on its cemetery "and enclosed the grounds with a massive brick wall, post and gateways . . . at a cost of $2500."[12]

The Hebrew Benevolent Society, that is, the elder society, at first held services for its members—and all who would come—on the High Holy Days. A local newspaper reports the Day of Atonement services in 1851 as follows:

"The Israelites form a large proportion of the population of this city, but we were surprised at seeing (last night) the building adjoining the Methodist Church crowded with an orderly and respectable congregation of this class of citizens. They appeared to be performing the religious service of their church, although the previous day is observed as a day of rest by the members of the Jewish persuasion."[13]

Undoubtedly, a number of the participants came from the mines —merchants or miners.

A congregation, B'nai Israel, was organized as early as April the following year—1852.[14] Its synagogue, dedicated in the fall of that year, was the first in the state.[15] Dedicated on September 3rd, it was destroyed by fire on November 2nd of the same year.[16] In 1859, the congregation had a Hebrew school with about forty pupils, taught by the minister.[17]

By that time there were two congregations in Sacramento. B'nai Israel had had both German and Polish Jews among its members. In 1856, the German Jews, objecting, it is said, to the cantor but more likely to the *minhag* (ritual), left B'nai Israel and organized their own congregation—B'nai Sholem ("lovers of peace").[18] It must be remembered, however, that in those days Jews from the Prussian province of Posen were "Polish"—as, in fact, they were. (It is also worth noting that the second benevolent society—the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society—was organized at about the same time and probably for the same reason —differences between the German and Polish Jews. The new congregation met for the New Year and Day of Atonement services in a rented building and, according to Benjamin's bitter comment, "that is practically all they do in the field of religious practice."[19] However, in the early sixties, they owned the building where they met and employed a minister. But they had only twenty-three members.[20]

B'nai Israel dedicated its new synagogue in 1859. At the time Benjamin was in Sacramento, they had already had four ministers during the brief existence of the congregation.[21] Their synagogue was again destroyed by fire in 1861 and another synagogue dedicated in 1864. In 1869, a new synagogue was built at a cost of $180,000, and by now both congregations were re-united in B'nai Israel.[22]

Aas early as 1851, Sacramento had about twenty Jewish firms in the clothing business;[23] this was a relatively larger number than the Jews in the same business in San Francisco. Jews also sold cigars, glassware and among other merchandise—although the families at that time in the city must have been few—toys.[24]

Louis Sloss, for a time, was head of a congregation, although whether this was the older congregation or the younger congregation consisting only of German Jews seems uncertain.[25]

Among other prominent Jews in the community were the Heilbron brothers. August Heilbron was born in the kingdom of Hanover in 1835. He came to America when he was fifteen, landing at New Orleans. From there he went up the Mississippi to St. Louis and "began life working by the month for a butcher in that city at $4.00 per month." He arrived in California in April, 1856, and established the first pork-packing house in the state. His elder brother, Adolph, born in Hanover in 1833, first settled in Cincinnati. He went to California in 1854 going first to the Placerville mines. In the fall of 1856, he went into partnership with his brother, August, in the pork-packing business. In time, the brothers owned large ranches and had the first sugar-beet plantations in California.[26]

Others were not as fortunate or, perhaps, as capable. Moses Gardner, for example, had to leave his farm near Sacramento.[27]

A lodge of the B'nai B'rith was organized in 1859 with thirty-five members;[28] and by 1858 a "Hebrew Ladies Society" had been formed.[29]

The German Jews of Sacramento, like German Jews elsewhere in California, shared in the cultural life of the German community, particularly in its amateur theatricals.[30] The Jews also had, of course, their own social life. In that, the masked ball given by the women of the Purim Ball Club was, no doubt, an important annual event.[31]

CHAPTER 3

SMALLER COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

I

Mining Camps

The most decisive role in the general consolidation of the country is played by those regions where gold could be found and which were consequently the destination of the newcomers. There existed both great prospects as well as great dangers for the Jews. That very unique period in California's drama of gold finds, and above all in Jewish history, shows how those two challenges were met.

An economic determinism was the first feature observed in the lives of Jewish merchants in the mining camps. Changes in his fortune were determined merely by positive and negative economic factors. The retaining and gradual exploitation of the gold finds were regarded as acts of fate. Though it developed that it was the destiny of practically all mining camps to cease after a limited number of years, the period of their productive and profitable existence proved yet long enough to transfer vast economic values there. As everywhere where artists try to make a living they were invaded by artistic productions culminating and evaporating like fireworks.

The slogan of trading in that world was unmistakably clear. A gold-rush song expressed the consumer's problem of the miner very tersely: to starve or to pay.[1]

That crude thought, incidentally, was likewise applied by Europe's greatest artists of the time, who came to California with the openly expressed intent to exchange the gold dust for the spiritual refreshments they were able to offer to the residents of the mining camps. In the case of Heinrich Herz this went so far that he planned his concert trip through the camps to finance his piano factory in Europe.

As a rule nobody doubted or challenged the position of the Jewish merchant as one fulfilling an indispensable economic func-

tion in the mining camps. In instances when the supplying of the mining camps faced crises, as in the winter of 1852–53, some voices were heard, who identified "Speculators" with "Foreigners" or "Banks," but the undercurrent emotion made no headway among the general public.[2] The stranger who arrived in the mining towns, above all during the first years, observed nothing but the bizarre and picturesque, unique features, which, however, were soon replaced by the regular establishments of the numerous Jewish merchants. The complicated detailed happenings in the mines' trading activities we are able to unearth by studying the business practices as revealed in the commercial columns in the journals of the mining towns that were preserved.

In the stream to the mines we meet Jewish merchants in all places where mining continued. In Tuolomne County, the core land of the mines, larger Jewish congregations were formed, the future of which depended exclusively on the wealth of the mines and they prospered or declined just as the mines themselves did. There were extensive migrations from one locality to others, and yet we find a certain degree of stability elsewhere.

In Sonora, where Emanuel Linoberg, a Jew of Eastern European descent successfully started the chain of Jewish pioneers, a Jewish community was formed which from the very beginning was closely linked to the city's growth. Initially we can perceive Emanuel Linoberg in his attempts to succeed as a real estate broker but they actually led to enforced auctions:

> (VII, 13, 1850) "By virtue of a writ of Fieri Facias, in favor of Alexander Cross against Emanuel Linoberg and Simon Loeven, to me directed and delivered for the sum of $125, I will expose for sale at Public Auction, at the Court House, in the town of Sonora, on the 15th day of July, A.D. 1850, at the hour of 10 o'clock in the forenoon of that day, all the right, title and interest of Simon Loeven of, in and to a certain *Lot of Land* in the town of Sonora, at the northerly end of the fork, between the east and west branches of Main street, now occupied by Gen. Besancon, Emanuel Linoberg, having paid thereon one-half of said judgement, said interest will be sold to satisfy the other half, to wit: the sum of $62.50 with interest from June, A.D. 1850.
>
> M. H. Brown, Constable.
>
> The above will be sold on the day and date above specified. Terms cash.
>
> Sullivan and Murphy,
> Sonora, June 22, 1850, Auctioneers."[2]

The path up was steep from his first failures as real estate broker to the construction of impressive buildings in Sonora after the big fire. We learn about it in the "Columbia Gazette":

> "**Sonora.**
> . . . North Corner of Linoberg Street, Mr. E. Linoberg is putting up a stone and brick store house, 52 feet deep by the same width, which will be divided into three stores; the whole having iron doors and shutters, and fire-proof roof. The stores are understood to be offered for, at large rents. Thus on either side of Linoberg street, brick fire-proof blocks take place of the wooden houses destroyed."[3]

Thus, at a time when the fires destroyed the original appearance of every Californian city, it was the ingenuity of Jewish merchants which reformed the exterior of the cities everywhere through the construction of fire-proof buildings. In the various cities we witness that very same trend that fireproof structures were the first demonstration of permanent investments, and they were used as counter-argument against those anti-Semitic propagandists who charged that the Jews did not plan to stay in the region but rather planned to leave for the East with their acquired treasures.

The appearance of Emanuel Linoberg's undertaking, the *Tiende Mexicano,* was portrayed as the largest and most important mercantile concern in the Southern Mines.[4]

A genuine department store in the mining area was so created by a man who at the age of only forty years passed away and was buried in March 1858 at Sonora. He had initiated enterprises which led to new establishments.

Simultaneously we are informed concerning other Jewish merchants whose establishments were described by others and which prove that after the Sonora fire of 1852 business not only went on but everything was re-created far more 'beautiful and more durable than ever before.

> "Wolf Brothers.
> Take this method to thank their patrons for past patronage, and inform them that they are now prepared to sell *Cheaper* than any other place in this mining region, and even at San Francisco—because they pay no rent—lost nothing by the last fire, and get their goods direct from the Eastern States and Europe. Call and convince yourself of the fact at their
> *Fire-Proof Store,*

at the Corner of Washington and Hospitals Streets, Opposite Adams andCo.'s New Express Office. Always on hand a large assortment of *Fancy Staple and Foreign Dry Goods.*

Sonora, January 4th, 1854."[5]

"F. E. Dreyfous, Auctioneer and Commission Merchant. Sales Room opposite the Long Tom Saloon, Sonora."

Sonora Herald, June 24, 1854, p. 1.

"*Wertheimer, Greenhood and Co.,* Importers and Dealers in —Cigars, Tobacco, Pipes, etc. Washington street, Sonora, next door to the Long Tom Saloon."

Sonora Herald, June 24, 1854, p. 1.

A detailed description is offered to us by a tour from store to store, as they appeared after the fire.[6]

There existed a multitude of other enterprises in the mining towns than those uniform clothing stores which were mentioned again and again by the reporters on the area's economic conditions.

The most superlative product of ingenuity was possibly an institution which transferred the comfort of ancient European centers and customs directly from the winters of Russia to the mild climate of California.

"*Pioneer Steam Baths.*"

"The undersigned respectfully informs the public that he has reopened at his Ranch, within half a mile of Sonora, under a proper direction, a capacious and convenient *Russian Bath,* universally recommended by the medical faculty . . .

A competent person will be in attendance to administer baths; and Physicians sending patients are requested to prescribe the manner in which they are to receive them.

Price $3.00.

Persons desiring steam baths must be at the Ranch before 10 o'clock A.M. Every facility is offered to reach the premises. The Stockton, Jamestown, and Coultersville stages pass twelve times a day. Fare from Sonora 25 cents, from Jamestown 75 cents.

Sonora. E. Linoberg.

Columbia Gazette, April 5, 1856. p. 3.

In many a town of the mining region the Jews were the first merchants. One example was Jamestown where Benjamin F. Butterfield and his wife Malvina were early settlers. Butterfield, together with his partner Klein, established the first store there. A similar report was given concerning Big Oak Flat, where Albert Mark was the first merchant.[7]

The press of California mining towns were preserved but in-

completely enabling us to acquire only very fragmentary insights about any one locality. But in spite of this fact we do yet obtain some picture of the role the Jew played in the mining camps. Regardless whether we are handed down a yellow sheet from the very first days or later, we regularly find Jewish names among the commercial advertisements. But in addition to them there are also announcements of Jewish firms in neighboring cities, or even more distant places if they were sources for supplies of smaller stores in the country. Above all, San Francisco Jewish firms advertise again and again in the papers of the mining cities. We learn much about conditions and commercial developments in those places and attention must be paid both to the entire structure as well as to the date of publication of the news items in the sheets which happened to reach us.

Most serious for mining camps and cities alike was the outbreak of fires. The economic impact of the danger of fires is illustrated by items in the only complete file of a Californian mining camp, the *Sierra Democrat,* which served Forest City and Downieville.

The protection against fire in a mining camp such as Forest City was entrusted to the merchants:

> "Messrs. White, Fleishhacker and Blum were this week examining the condition of the chimneys and stovepipes in Forest City. They are the right men for this important duty, as they have a large amount of property in town, which a fire would soon sweep away.
>
> The majority of fires in our mining towns originate from stovepipes coming into contact with wood work, and at this season of the year when stoves are being put up in almost every house, more than ordinary care is required.
>
> We trust that the committee will perform their duty without allowing any 'growler' to deter them from compelling every precautionary measure to be taken to prevent the awful calamity of fire."[8]

Yet, there was quite a number of culprits who gave incorrect information to the Committee, e.g., a clothing store whose fire could have been extinguished without damage. This led to the following editorial comments:

> "Sam Hyman and Brother . . . The above is one of the establishments that never pay anything towards sustaining a night watchman. Such men deserve a little scorching, if it could be done without jeopardizing the lives and properties of others."[9]

In spite of all precautions, Downieville was razed by a fire one year later. The damage was $490,000. Among those who suffered losses were a large number of Jewish firms. In one case, the damage was as high as $10,000.[10]

Not much later, on April 10, 1857, Forest City was destroyed by a fire that caused a loss valued at $150,000. Again the Jewish merchans hold a prominent place in the list of victims.[11]

But they are equally leading when, after the holocausts the reconstruction efforts are being reported. The economic optimism of the Jewish merchants as expressed by the large sums newly invested encourages the paper to the following title of a news story:

"How we are progressing."[12]

In the relatively calm days business advanced like a broad stream able to carry everybody and anything. Though credit was not granted as a rule it yet happens that people found it necessary to state so. Thus, J. Mier of Downieville advertised his dry goods as "cheap for cash only."[13]

" . . . *motto* . . . A nimble sixpence is better than a slow shilling."[14]

The variety of commercial establishments was so rich that some Jewish merchants in the mining camps maintained branches of one store in a mining camp of different location. Thus, S. Rosenthal and Brother in Downieville stated that his enterprise was a branch of a Nevada company.[15]

Firms moved from one location to another. In one rare case we are told of a return to the Atlantic coast:

> "Departures. — Messrs. A. Fleishhacker and R. Blum, old and prominent residents of this place, left here Tuesday morning for the Atlantic States, wither they go to become permanent citizens."[16]

The low prices are "San Francisco Prices[17] or at least "as cheap as can be purchased this side of Sacramento."[18]

One case is related of a Jewish merchant becoming insolvent —along with non-Jewish merchants; it was the case of an Adolph Levy before the County Court of Sierra.[19] Yet, in general we are confronted with a picture of flourishing progress of the Jewish enterprises in the mining camps. Such is reflected in a wealth of items in the advertising columns of the contemporary press.

Some of those enterprises became landmarks, as the "Three

Brothers Store" of the Levis in Columbia during the early fifties, which was equipped with a bar and a post-office, unusual luxuries, indeed.[20]

Noteworthy was also the original store of the Auerbach Brothers at Rabbit Creek, which was a miners hangout and whose large safe was used to safeguard the precious gold dust.[21]

A large number of stores cared for the non-material needs of those miners, by providing them with books, magazines, musical instruments and scores. Most useful was such material to the editors of the local press, who at times acknowledged such assistance publicly:

> "We are indebted to Mr. Gambitz for files of Bay papers . . . "[22]

or

> "Personal. — Our friend, Mr. Myers, of the Downieville Bookstore, presented us with a Leslie Magazine . . . "[23]

The fruits of their reading efforts re-appeared then as space fillers in those papers' columns.

Those periodicals contain also sad news like that of the killing of Jewish business people in the camps. A Max Rothenheim at Happy Camp was killed by a robber.[24]

We learn from Yreka, Siskiyou County:

> "H. Hellmann.
> Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Groceries, Provisions, Liquors, etc.
> The undersigned beg leave to inform the citizens of Yreka, and the adjacent country, that he has constantly on hand a large supply of Groceries, Provisions and Liquors, such as
> Coffee, Tea, Sugar
> Dried Fruit, Rice, Butter
> Bacon, Sardines, Lobsters
> Cheese, Candles, Soap.
> Together with all kinds of articles suited to the wants of this community, which he will sell at the lowest market price, for cash. Those wishing to purchase will do well to call before purchasing elsewhere.
> H. Hellmann.
> Yreka, June 11th. 1853."
>
> *The Mountain Herald,* Yreka, Siskiyou County, June 11, 1853, p. 3.

Provisions for drinking were also made:

"City Hall, Yreka City, California . . .
Bar with the choicest Liquor . . .
Elias Stone."
The Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 11, 1853, p. 3.

One year later we read in the single copy of the newspaper that was preserved:

"Livingston and Bro.
Mining Tools . . . Clothing"
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 3.

and

"*Silverstein and Cohen,* Fire Proof Brick Building, on Main Street keep on hand and are receiving a splendid stock of *Dry Goods, Clothing, Boots and Shoes,* of every description, of the choicest the market affords."
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 4.

"New Goods.
Burnstein and Co. Thomas's Brick Buildings, Miner Street, Yreka . . . Clothing, Boots and Shoes . . . Mining Tools . . ."
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 4.

The description of the structures where the business enterprises were located shows generally that they were in the very center of traffic and industrial development.

There was no lack of specialized stores either:

"Cigar Store
Wholesale and Retail.
. . . Playing Cards . . .
B. F. Baruch and Co. Yreka . . ."
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 2.

A glance in the employment market is provided by the following ad:

"Wanted. — A good baker,
Henry Hellman."
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 2.

Crescent City merchants also advertise in that issue; the immediate needs of the miners are everywhere the same: gold dust is the means of exchange for which coined gold is offered, too:

"Fresh Chile Flower, in original packages, on hand for sale by Freedman Ottenheimer and Co.
Crescent City . . ."
Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 3.

"A. and B. Goldsmith . . . Crescent City . . .
Jewelry Store . . . Constantly on hand a large lot of California gold one dollar Pieces . . ."

Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 4.

"S. H. Grubler . . . Liquors . . . Clothing and Miners Store generally . . . Crescent City."

Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 4.

The name of Henry Meyer appears in connection with a firm liquidation in the "Calaveras Chronicle," Mokelumne Hill, in 1852; the same issue shows David Pollack on the mail list.[25]

In the same newspaper we find three years later in one of the issues:

"Isador and Co. . . . Clothing"

Calaveras Chronicle, Mokelumne Hill, Nov. 3, 1855, p. 3.

and

"Boston Fancy Store . . . Main Street . . . A. Straus."

Calaveras Chronicle, Mokelumne Hill, Nov. 3, 1855, p. 3.

Also

"Cigars and Tobacco. Books and Stationery. Musical Instruments . . . J. Levinson and Co."

Calaveras Chronicle, Mokelumne Hill, Nov. 3, 1855, p. 4.

In Columbia, the center of Tuolumne County, the Jewish community grows fast as a result of the noteworthy accomplishments of Jewish business people. In their ads we learn of their merchandise in regard to certain seasons and to enlargements of enterprises:

. . *"Spring Clothing and Dry Goods!*
. . . received directly from New York . . .
Philip Schwartz, Brick Store on Main St. opposite Hildenbrands.
Columbia . . ."

Columbia Gazette, Apr. 2, 1856, p. 2.

Concerning construction activities we are being told:

"Advance of Columbia.
. . . Mr. Lipman will erect a two-story fire-proof, opposite to the Boston Livery stables, 32 feet front by 52 deep. This will be occupied as a first class saloon on the first floor.
. . . Philip Schwartz, opposite Hildebrands, is enlarging his store and displaying the richest and most varied assortment of Paris goods. Ladies of Columbia and from abroad should not fail to give him a call. Gentlemen who can afford and who delight in

rich garments should look in upon Schwartz's Paris pants and coats."

Columbia Gazette, and the Southern Mines Adviser, April 9, 1856, p. 2.

The following were active in Nevada City, California in 1855:

"Rosenheim and Brother,
Watchmakers and Jewelers, and Dealers in *Watches, Jewelry,* Diamonds, Fancy Goods, etc. Main Street, first door below the Metropolis Hotel, *Nevada City,* Cal."

Grass Valley Telegraph, Dec. 18, 1855, p. 3.

Furthermore:

"Sol Kohlman . . . clothing store on Main Street . . . "
"Simon Rosenthal and Bro. . . . Dry Goods,"
"A. Block and Co. . . . Clothing Warehouse,"
"Michelson's New Book and Music Store,"

The Nevada Democrat, Nevada, Calif. Dec. 19, 1855, p. 3.

" . . . Cigars . . . H. and M. Hirshman, and Philadelphia Dry Goods Store Commercial Street, Nevada, *No Humbug* Stiefel and Cohn,"

The Nevada Democrat, Nevada, Calif. Dec. 19, 1855, p. 3.

Morris Rosenheim and Sol Kohlman were still operating there four years later, and the following new firms had opened business in the meantime:

"Boots and Shoes, Simon Mayers, . . . M. Greenhood — Cigar and Fruit Store . . . " and "S. Lubick and Co. . . . Clothing . . . "

The Nevada Democrat, Nevada, Calif., March 3, 1859, p. 1.

Life became more refined and the clothing trade moved up toward the mines, not as despised off-shots of the city enterprises with discarded merchandise, but as regular, well-assorted enterprises, not infrequently simply as branches of San Francisco firms. Thus, it was well possible that one partner was at one location while the other dwelled in San Francisco.

"Goldstone Bro. Clothing.
. . . Michael Goldstone, San Francisco
Charles Goldstone, Shasta."[26]

But other fields of industrial activities made use of the partner association for their stores in the mining region:

"Simon Selig, Shasta.
H. Newbauer, San Francisco
. . . Tobacco and Cigars!"[27]

The press of the mining towns reflected also the extension of undertakings and the transfer of some into larger localities as well as the opening of branches in other camps. An opening in 1854 was announced as follows:

"Hollub and Isaacs,
Fashionable Dry Goods and Clothing
Emporium
Post Office Building, Yreka.
The undersigned have just arrived from Shasta . . . adapted to the wants of this mining region . . . Ladies Department . . ."[28]

There are two ads which showed a major undertaking with its branch in the mines; the first contained the place of origin of the merchant as it was a custom them:

"New Orleans Clothing and Dry Goods Store.
Mariposa . . . B. Oppenheim and Co."[29]

And:

"B. Oppenheim and Co. . . .
. . . Our Store in *Bear Valley,* generally known as *Moses' Store* has been enlarged lately, . . ."[30]

The variety of tendencies which governed the establishment of branch stores, particularly the introduction of new goods, were announced in the following ad, which simultaneously stresses that the main store will be located in San Francisco:

"Cohen, Samuels and Co.
. . . New Fireproof Brick Store,
Main Street, . . . Mariposa
New Goods . . . Miners Clothing
. . . Gold Dust taken in exchange . . .
We have established a store at Aqua Trio — where the same kind of Goods will be sold . . . as in Mariposa.
One of the partners will remain in San Francisco to forward Goods and attend to all business connected with the store at this place."[31]

It is obvious that in those public announcements the Jewish names of the owners was always clearly discernable and for publicity reasons those names were prominently displayed. Thus, it is

simply incomprehensible how one observer could dare to claim that the Jews tried to hide their names and conduct their companies anonymously:

> "But few of them have signs over their doors, as most men have who transact business upon their honor and reputation. Some of them buy and sell under assumed names; but in general their business is anonymously conducted."[32]

As a matter of fact the organization of the Jewish firms in California were clearly made a matter of public record, if for no other motives then for the important self interest to be able to provide an accurate and publicly recognized basis for legal rights and claims of past or future partners in the numerous property changes as well to free any financial obligations of any debts. Let us quote but one of the many announcements from the Californian press:

> "Dissolution of Copartnership.
> The Copartnership heretofore existing under the name of N. Cohn and Co. is this way dissolved by mutual consent. All persons indebted to the late firm are hereby notified to settle their accounts with Messrs. W. Cohn, J. Dettelbach, who will continue the same business as heretofore.
>
> J. Griesman,
> N. Cohn,
> J. Dettelbach,
> W. Cohn."[33]

The company that was formed after the separation of the former partners J. Griesman and N. Cohn was "Cohn and Dettelbach" and advertised in the same issue the establishment of the new enterprise and gives a list of merchandise offered.[34]

While frequently emphasis was put on the links with San Francisco or the sale at San Francisco prices,[35] sometimes we also encounter the name of a Stockton firm in the advertising columns of a paper in the mining region.

"Rosenbaum and Van Allen, dealers in Books..."[36]
they call themselves
"Importers and Dealers in Books, . . . Stockton..."[37]
in a later ad.

In the mining area most ads were concentrated on clothing, tobacco and dry goods. In one issue of the *Placer Press* of Auburn, dated February 2nd, 1856, all ads of Jews refer to such goods,[38]

only one of them also mentioning "Miners Goods," meaning tools and machines. Occasionally, an ad combines a wild variety of possibilities:

> "Nathan Rhine,
> Diamond Springs and Eldorado
> . . . Clothing, Boots, Shoes and Hats. Dry Goods of great variety, also Saddlery, Furniture, Mattresses, Colt's Pistols, Cutlery . . . "[39]

The produce trade in the mining area expands markedly and is carried on in conjunction with that in tools:

> "J. J. Friedman and Co.
> Second St. Brick Store, Crescent City, Cal.
> Wholesale Dealers in
> Flour, Groceries, Provisions, Wines, and Liquors, Tobacco, and Cigars; Clothing, Boots, Shoes and Hardware, Farming Utensils and Miners' Tools. Receive large supplies with every steamer . . . "[40]

To give an idea of the huge quantities stored in such enterprises we merely refer to an announcement by one firm stating that 20,000 lbs of Chinese sugar were offered for sale.[41]

As the size of the enterprises grew their store structures improved, too. In the case of the company just mentioned it served the general public when a panicky fear of an Indian attack was rampant.

> "Brick Stores.
>
> One satisfaction arising from the panic on Friday, is the consideration to have found ourselves provided with ample means to shelter securely those that could not face the enemy. The proprietors of brick stores, one and all, offered promptly a safe refuge to the women and children which these as promptly were made to avail. But the brick building on Second Street, erected last summer by Messrs. J. J. Friedman and Co., received probably the largest share of these transient tenents, as besides being thoroughly fire-proof and very spacious, it was of most convenient access to the neighborhood. No less than 33 ladies and 15 or 20 children were there congregated and through the untiring exertions of the gentlemanlike proprietor made comfortable."[42]

The stores in the mining towns not only provided goods to the consumers directly but were also a source for purchases by resalers:

"*New Goods!*
. . . Dry Goods, Clothing . . .
Traders and Packers will find us well assorted in clothing of every style. . . . S. Hahn."[43]

During the slow process of forming a cohesive group of Jewish merchants in the mining regions in the many places where gold was found, commercial transportation of goods played an important role rather early. From the very opening of the first mines we encounter Jews in the conduct of the pack trains to the mines. Their freight charges were called equitable. In a description from Uniontown, California, dated 1851, we have a vivid picture of the accomplishments and the pressing problems of the Jewish merchants in the mining area in the earliest pioneering period.[44]

Packing business started immediately in the spring.[45]

The low prices charged by Jewish merchants were a virtue that was soon noticed in California.

When a permanently settled merchants group was established in all localities of the mining area, the regular transportation of goods by big forwarding companies became an essential necessity in which Jewish merchants were no less interested than others. The service rendered and the business conditions granted by such firms were subject to public criticism of all parties concerned. Thus, it is but little wonder that in a public pronouncement against one of those firms a record of all merchants of the region was preserved. Thus we possess an excellent yardstick to determine the strength of the group in the mines. The document by its very completeness affords a rare insight into the internal commercial transactions of the period:

"*Notice.*—All persons exchanging letters with the undersigned, residents of this town, will please to notice, that we will not receive any letters or packages, paid or unpaid, through the Pacific Express, during the agency of Charles F. Griffin, in this town, whom we denounce as unworthy of our patronage.

M. Raphael
Lewis and Bros.
Isaac Blumm and Co.
H. Levy
David Weil
G. Coblentz and Co.

Leopold Levy
S. Craner
S. Alexander
A. Franklin
A. Levinson

Fiddletown, September 5, 1856

Notice.—We will call the particular attention of all persons exchanging letters with the undersigned residents of different places, that after this date we will not receive any letters or packages, paid or unpaid, through the Pacific Express, while they retain Charles E. Griffin as their Express Agent in Fiddletown.

L. Harris
L. Level
B. Levy
A. Cohn
M. Levy and Co.
S. Goldstein
Levy and Co.
R. Thomas

Residents of Indian Diggins.

B. Diamond
J. P. Lewis
S. Lewis
A. Benedicks of *Lone Valley*
A. Weiner and Co.
F. Leiser
N. Reibel

Residents of Drytown

S. Sanders
Phillipp Gross
Silver and Co.
W. T. Mier
S. Colbocc
S. Harris and Co.
M. Gold
Albert Buhlert
Peter Thompson
L. C. Crighin
September 6, 1856
Nathan Brim and Co.
S. Borker
D. Windmiller
S. Davidson
H. S. Cohen
G. Danilevitz
P. Marks
D. Cohen
S. D. Morris
M. Abell
J. Danilevitz
N. Solomon
Blumenthal
J. Walentine
B. Harris
J. Abraham
R. Blumenthal
J. Oppenheimer
M. Raiser
R. Daviss
J. Frankenhim
H. Lowenthal
L. D. Raplaw
D. Michael
N. Meyer
D. Sokolowsky
C. Lowison
J. Hirshfield
W. Friedlander
J. Costille
M. Netter
R. Sacks
A. Goldsmith
L. Lowenthal
L. Jackson
W. Jacob
J. Harris
L. Rosenthal
J. Paris
J. Rosenfield

Residents of Jackson

M. Brim

Residents of Butte City

E. Cohen
S. Abrams
M. Zeller
M. Marks
A. Maurice
J. Coppell
J. Mayers
A. C. Strauss
M. Cohen

Residents of West Point

L. Lerich

Residents of La Plancha

J. Oppenheim
P. S. Rosenbaum and Co.
M. Dammenbaum
F. S. Rothschild
B. Haisler
J. Frankenhiem
B. J. Latz
T. Peyser

Residents of San Andreas

J. Waldstin
B. Barnett
L. M. Hillman
L. Polach
R. Heyter
A. Strauss
J. Platt
H. Carr
G. Hodapp
G. Runkell
G. Sokolowskye

Residents of Mokelumne Hill

L. Jacob
S. Raphael
N. Cain
J. Bernas."[46]
L. Morris
C. Cohen

A large proportion of these merchants were undoubtedly Jews. A few years later a correspondent could picture as follows the stages the merchandise went through while in transport:

> "Merchandise, from the time it is freighted on the clipper ships until it is consumed, passes principally through the hands of the Jewish merchants... The Express Companies of the Interior depend mainly upon them for support, and the freight and passage lists continually abound with their names."[47]

Jews in a position of agents of important transportation companies were to be found in California, e.g. A. A. Cohen, who at the time of the bankruptcy of Adams and Co., was their agent in Stockton, became the administrator of the property of the defunct company in 1859. Marcus Katz of San Bernardino was active in organizing the gold transports in Southern California, for some period of time:

"In the years 1860, 1861, 1862, there was a great deal of mining going on, mostly in gold mines. Mr. Katz was then in the Express office and during those three years he shipped $300,000 worth of gold collected from these mines. This was the only express. The express charges were then so high that there was but little sent in that way."[49]

Peddling in the mining region was not a very important branch of business. Altogether 119 peddler's licences were issued in El Dorado county between December 7, 1852 and July 16, 1853. As the names indicate, many of them were Jews. Isaac Shudman, Isac Benjamin and Levi Pere were fined for illegal selling in Greenwood.[50]

Reports from the mining camps on Jewish religious life there made it clear that this was a particularly interesting phenomenon.[51] News on all these developments were contained in the Jewish Press from its very beginning—even though details were ofen lacking. An early survey about the communities of America knows nothing but that there lived "numerous settlers in Nevada City, Placerville, Sonora."[52]

First Jewish interest in the mining camps appears in the subscription lists of the American Jewish Press. Readers' efforts in this direction were noteworthy: Sonora sent in six subscriptions,[53] Nevada "by kindness of P. Rothschild" five,[54] Oroville "through kindness of Mr. Joseph Bloch" eight[55] and Shasta City four.[56]

The circulation of the paper becomes a pioneering venture and the readers volunteer as solicitors, all of whom worked without compensation. They were respected merchants, who travelled themselves, or were in touch with other business people, particularly peddlers. Thus, "Joseph Bloch, Oroville, California" appears as "Agent for the Israelite and Deborah."[57]

The first local correspondents were recruited from the same group which felt inspired to literary production.[58] Those correspondents not only stood in the center of communal activities, and, thus, their reports reflect their participation as well as their lining up with certain parties and fractions. Thus the columns often become a forum for their opinions and other readers' responses. Often the papers seek authentic reports about communal events and other affairs of Jewish interest; repeatedly the papers refuse to reprint reports from the general press, and preferred awaiting

original reports from Jewish sources. This was particularly true when the daily press reported on the founding of congregations or the dedication exercises of synagogues in the Far West. While the Jewish papers thought it beyond their dignity to rely exclusively on second-hand reports, they gladly reprinted from the general press when they were able to supplement its reports with original reports of their own sources.

As an excellent example of such a loyal subscriber, voluntary agent, outstanding merchant, farmer and foremost pioneer, who added to his life's enjoyment by acting as the paper's correspondent, we may quote Emanuel Linoberg of Sonora. He was an example of a California correspondent—important in his own community and eager to volunteer his help in supplying his own views, news, and, in many cases, subscribers.

> "Tuolumne County, California.
> Linoberg's Ranch
> October 2, 1857.
> Mr. Editor.
>
> A tiller of the soil, during the hours of recreation, I have written a few lines.
>
> We are here in the mountains, near the Sierra Nevada, which ten years ago was a wilderness; but, with American progressive spirit, has changed to a civilized, populous mining district—none superior in the State. The Israelites in this county number about 250 to 300, in Sonora about 100; all are doing well. The tax list of this county mentioned their names to a considerable extent, with credit to their industry. There is very little prejudice known here toward us as Jews; in social intercourse with our fellow-citizens, no distinction is made between Christians and Jews; in fact there is no persuasion more esteemed for moral conduct than the Jews.
>
> I fully approve your advocacy of Reform . . .
>
> E. Linoberg."[59]

Emanuel Linoberg (whose native land, Poland, was mentioned)[60] was, according to the Miners Directory, one of the first white men at Sonora.[61] As early as the summer of 1849 he was co-owner of a company set up to exploit a silver mine.[62] He was likewise the founder of the Masonic Lodge established on June 24, 1851.[63] His wedding took place on December 30, 1851.

> "San Francisco. 29. XII. 1851.
>
> Socially.—We have been more than usually gay, and the large

and constant influx of the fair sex have tended to foster and promote that gaiety. Our people anticipate the pleasure of witnessing tomorrow a matrimonial ceremony among the members of the Congregation "Shearith Israel." The affianced parties are Mr. E. Linoberg of Sonora, and Miss Pauline Myer, both natives of Germany."[64]

The first reports of Jewish communal activities in the mining camps are to be found as a rule in the Jewish press of the East. A report on Yom Kippur Services in San Francisco, 1850, continues: "We also learn that there was Synagogue service at Colluma, on the Yuba River, at which all the Hebrew at that section were present."[65] An early correspondent writes to the *Asmonean:*

"...I feel some interest in the paper, and will contribute my mite to vary its contents by forwarding with every steamer slight details of the events transpiring in these diggings."[66]

Later these activities appear abundantly in the Californian papers, especially of the mining camps.

Four years later Colluma is listed as the seat of a congregation:

"Colluma (. . . on the Yuba River), congregation (organized) 5610—1850."[67]

In the mining districts it was usual for Jews from neighboring mining camps to join in religious services, and for communal activities:

Shasta, Cal. October 6th, 1856.
At a meeting of the Israelites of Shasta, Mr. H. Leo was unanimously appointed President, and S. Goldstone, Secretary. Mr. Leo stated the object of the meeting to be the necessity of an immediate formation of a congregation to observe, in an appropriate manner, the Day of Atonement...
. . . to invite the Israelites of Red Bluffs to attend our religious meeting on Yom Kippur.
...taking into consideration the necessity of procuring a Hebrew burial ground."[68]

At the same time we learn a little more of this place and its Jewry:

"Shasta City, Cal.
...There is a little place called Shasta City, which has but 1000 inhabitants, eleven among them are Jews, nine of them are merchants or traders, one a mechanic and one an artist. There are

but nine fire-proof houses in the city, and five of them are owned and occupied by Jews for mercantile purposes, and six of the eleven Jews are owners of valuable property, which by the by do not own by *preemption* or *squating,* but having bought it and paid for it . . ."[69]

In 1856, the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin reported as follows:

Number of Synagogues in California.— . . . in Shasta . . . one. . . . in all nine synagogues (p. 2).

A Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized there in March 1857.[70] At times it was a single religious event that was reported from a small place, e.g., the first Jewish wedding in Georgetown.[71]

Particularly significant were the reports on annual gatherings in the form of *ad hoc* organized services on the High Holy Days —even though they did not always lead to the establishment of a permanent organization. Thus, in Downieville:

"Monday last, Atonement Day, according to the Jewish rites and ceremonies, was generally observed in this place by the Jews. All business places, with but one exception, were closed on Sunday evening and remained closed twenty-four hours."[72]

Far more important were the annual meetings when they were followed by decisions to establish a permanent congregation, or the construction of a synagogue or the laying out of a cemetery. Such was the case in Jackson—a location in Amador County centrally located for a number of mining camps:

"California.

Another New Synagogue.—Mr. M. Raphall communicates to the San Francisco paper the following intelligence:

Fiddletown, Dec. 21, 1856.

Without any previous idea of the result, we met in Jackson [the center of a number of mining camps in Amador County] to celebrate our New Year and Atonement days, and surprised as I was to have found in the latter about fifty, who came to repent on their past action, some from a distance of twenty miles, . . . Mr. Gradvahl, . . . particularly does Messrs. Fleishman, Diamond Springs, Seligman Brothers, Placerville, S. Asher, Coloma, Jacob Bro. and Galland, Georgetown, deserve all credit . . . "[73]

The announcement of the contemplated construction of a synagogue was to be found in the mining camp press itself, too:

> "Synagogue.—The Israelites of Jackson, Amador county, have commenced the building of one of the largest and finest churches in the mountains."[74]

Benjamin reported that this synagogue was built in 1857, that a cemetery had been acquired in 1854 and that in 1860 sixteen Jewish women of Jackson formed a "Ladies" Benevolent Society. About 35 Jews lived then in Jackson.[75]

In 1870 the following item appeared in a Californian Jewish paper:

> Sutter Creek, Oct. 9, 1870.
> ...how the holidays were celebrated in the mountainous regions of Amador. The Congregation Beth Israel held their place of worship at Masonic Hall in Jackson."[76]

The following printed item concerns the founding of this congregation:

> "Constitution and by-laws of Congregation B'nai Israel, located at Jackson, Amador county, California . . . S. F. M. Weiss . . . 1873, 19 p."[77]

Diamond Springs, which has been mentioned in connection with the services at Jackson, had 32 Jews when Benjamin arrived.[78]

Not always could one be clear whether the effort of the Jews in the mining camps to consolidate religious life were to be crowned by success or not. Only the future could tell whether a real congregation was to develop or whether only a Hebrew Benevolent Society would remain:

> "Placerville, California.—We have obtained an account of yet another new congregation in California, which was lately commenced at Placerville near the mines. They organized as a Hebrew Benevolent Society on the first of August, with objects similar to those of kindred societies. They had bought a burying ground, and fenced it in, and had fitted up a place of worship, to be used at the holidays. Mr. Greenberg, the principal mover in organizing the society, has been elected the first President. The number of members is about thirty, and a commencement fund of $300 has likewise been raised."[79]

At the time of Benjamin's arrival only a Hebrew Benevolent Society and a Jewish cemetery remained there. There were then 70 Jews at Placerville.[80] In 1857 a "Jewish Society" was founded in Fiddletown.[81]

Another mining camp was

> *"Nevada City* . . . First Assembly for Worship was on Rosh Shana 5613—1852 held in the Masonic Hall. Acting Hazan on the occasion Mr. H. Leo. The number of Israelites in the city in 5613 was thirty."[82]

In 1854 (September 3), the *Daily Alta California* reported as follows:

> *"Hebrews in Nevada.*—The Nevada Journal says that the Hebrews in Nevada have located and secured a title to a piece of ground in the vicinity of Nevada, on Gold Run, where they contemplate permanently locating a cemetery. They have a society here numbering some 75 persons, and as all of them are thriving citizens, and many of them have families, we think they should, and no doubt will, make this,which is to be a nucleus around which the society in this region is the center, an ornament to the mountains. A close fence, seven feet high, is to surround the ground, and some other improvements will be added to it."

At the time of Benjamin's arrival, Nevada City had ten Jewish families, consisting of sixty Jews. They had a benevolent society and a cemetery.[83]

In good days Nevada City had seen exuberant Jewish Society —Life too:

> "Correspondence from Nevada . . . ball of the Eureka Social Club . . . March 26th . . . hundred and fifty persons appeared in masks . . . "[84]

Costumes of peddlers, pawn-brokers and of the "Jewess" were to be seen.[85] The following news item proves that the Club claimed to represent all the Jews of the city:

> "Nevada City Items.
> . . . There is probably not another town in California, aside from San Francisco and Sacramento, where the Hebrew element exercises a greater influence than they do in Nevada City. The Eureka Social Club, which has been organized nearly a year and is controlled by Israelites, has had much to do in increasing this influence, and, socially speaking, has done much to harmonize society . . . "[86]

Benjamin founded the first Jewish organization at Folsom,[87] where 23 Jews lived, (three of them married), and another organization at Mokelumne Hill. Here there were thirty Jews.[88]

He described his activities at Folsom as follows:

> "... I gathered them one evening in the Odd Fellows Hall, described to them in a brief address the necessity of following the example set by co-religionists in other cities in creating a Benevolent Society."[89]

A Hebrew benevolent society was founded in Jesus Maria in 1857, and the Jews of Folsom and Oroville had their own burial grounds.[90]

Of two mining camps in Tuolumne County, Sonora and Columbia:

> "The Israelites have held regular meetings since September 1851, although as yet they have no synagogue erected."[91]
>
> "Sonora, Cal. We had a fine Synagogue during the last holidays (1856), and everything went along very nicely under the management of our President M. H. Wolf.—L. J."[92]

The initials "L. J." stood for "Mr. Leopold Jacobi of Sonora" to whom the paper's editor expressed his appreciation of the report.[93]

In 1858, one hundred Jews lived at Sonora.[94]

Some of them had been listed among the earliest settlers there. James Cahn, for example, in 1849.[95]

When Benjamin visited Sonora, the 25 Jews there had their own cemetery and jointly with Columbia a Hebrew Benevolent Society which had about 42 members.[96] The society had been founded in 1860 and it had 9 charter members.[97] There had been an earlier Hebrew Benevolent Society at Sonora.

The synagogue at Columbia, a two story building, was destroyed in the fire of August 1857.[98]

Benjamin noted that there were 30 Jews in Columbia and all, it seemed, belonged to the Sonora Hebrew Benevolent Society.[99] An "Organized Congregation" at Sonora is listed. (1854).[100]

When the importance of those and other mining camps began to sink in the localities where Jews had settled in small groups, the organized Jewish life in California begins to slow down or even to reach a standstill. In 1874, a correspondent "maintains that in places where from twenty to sixty Hebrew families reside, there are no congregations, no divine service is held, no child knows more of Judaism than what mothers may be able and will-

ing to teach, and nothing is done to change this state of affairs."[101]

Yet isolated new establishments did take place:

> "The Hebrews of Oroville met at the residence of the Hon. Max Brooks for the purpose of organizing a Hebrew society and a Sabbath school . . ."[102]

II

Cities

The development of permanent urban settlements in early American California is basically conditioned by the history of the approximately 500 mining camps. Often a mining place could become the very center of an entire region. This happened above all in those places where the deposits were particularly rich and other camps were close to exhaustion. Often it happened that neighboring camps merged and formed one single city thereafter. It also occurred that mining locations which had never maintained organic connection with others dropped out of the picture, virtually leaving no traces. However, often the mining district did develop into a township. This entire process, growth or dissolution of settlements, repeated itself in the development and growth of local Jewish institutions within the network of Jewish colonies.

In addition to the permanent settlements growing out of mining there were others linked to agriculture, centers of regional trade, the use of farming produce and the supply of the farmers with essential goods. Not seldom such urban colonies were centered around ranches, which in parts of their plants already produced industrial goods and marketed them. Jews were found in such settlements at various stages—in part among the first settlers, in other instances not before the settlement had already developed its urban character. The Jews, settled in the small communities that were the local center of the agricultural activities of their region, seldom moved to the cities. In contrast, the migration from the mining camps to the Jewish communities of the cities, particularly San Francisco and Sacramento, was common. When the prosperity of the mining camps declined Jewish merchants moved away and used wealth acquired in the camps to found new enterprises in the cities.

News on all these developments were contained in the Jewish press from its very beginning—even though details were often lacking.

In the North of California there remained, as permanent Jewish communities, Grass Valley, Marysville, and Stŏckton.

The Grass Valley City Directory described the growth of the first Jewish organization as follows:

> "*Shaar Zedek.*
>
> This Society (Hebrew) was organized September 8, 1856, for the purpose of taking charge of the Jewish Cemetery at this place, taking care of the sick, and burying the dead. It has suffered numerically from the removal to other portions of the State and to Nevada of many of its members, but the interest in its worthy objects has never flagged, and it now embraces in its membership roll some of our worthiest and wealthiest Jewish citizens. Present officers: B. Gad, P. A. Michael, V. B. Nathan, T. J. Morris, S. M. Cohn, and S. Abrahams, Trustees."[1]

The same Directory has data also about the second Jewish organization of Grass Valley:

> "B'nai Berith.
>
> Garizim Lodge No. 43, Independent Order of Benai Berith (Sons of the Covenant) was organized October 6, 1860, with twenty charter members. The order, which meets every Sunday night at the hall, south side of Main, near Mill street, numbers thirty-one members, and is working under the jurisdiction of San Francisco Grand Lodge, Nr. 4. J.O.B.B. The Order is of Jewish origin, its chief aim being benevolence. Officers of the present term: Joseph Hirshfield, Pres.; Joseph Newman, V.P.; H. Levy, S.; M. Cohn, T.; S. Abraham, A. M.; B. Nathan, W. L. Zacharias, Guard; A. J. Sanders, L. Zacharias, S. Abraham, Trustees."[2]

Benjamin offered the following details on the Jewish community of Grass Valley:

> "(Thirty Jews) live here, twelve married. They have a benevolent society, presided over by Mr. Marks. They bought a cemetery, though they live only five miles from their brethren in Nevada who have a burial-ground, paid for and equipped. On Rosh-ha-shono and Yom Kippur they gather for services and they have a Torah scroll. But there are no (Jewish) religious services otherwise."[3]

The Hebrew Benevolent Society at Marysville was founded on August 31, 1853.[4] Benjamin:

"It finds itself in a very flourishing state. It bought a cemetery, where a Metaher House has been built and it has $1300 in its treasury."[5]

"A congregation, by name B'nai B'rith, has been organized. Its president is S. J. Barman. It has 100 members, and as it has no regular expenses their funds are growing. They have no paupers, no Chasan, no teacher, and the expenses for the employment of a reader for the Holy Days are met by donations."[6]

A report in the Jewish press, dated April 21, 1873, related that there were "about sixteen families, beside some young men without families," and continued: "The Hebrew school is attended daily by twenty-five children, boys and girls, between the ages seven and twelve years."[7]

Marysville is listed, 1854, among the American Jewish communities:

"Temporary Synagogue, Hebrew Benevolent Society organized 5613—1853. President Mr. F. M. Rinehart."[8]

One year later it had 23 subscribers to the *American Israelite*.[9]

The high holidays-services there (1853) are reported as follows:

"They had a Synagogue opened for the holidays; they borrowed a Sepher and Shophar, and everything passed off very well. There were present forty-five males and four Jewish ladies. This is certainly a considerable number for a community in so new a place as Marysville, which, like all other California towns, has sprung up as if by magic. It is to be hoped that, being so numerous, they will act in concert to do honor to the names of Israelites, which they bear."[10]

Jewish activities are reported in the local press:

"*Notice.*—The regular monthly meeting of Marysville Hebrew Benevolent Society will be held on Sunday, the 3d of February 1856 at 2 o'clock P.M., at the City Hall. A.D. Rice, Secretary."[11]

The same year the organization announced its first ball which it planned as an annual event; we read as follows:

"*First Annual Ball.*—Let it be borne in mind that this is the evening of the first annual ball of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. It is to be held at the City Hall, and will be the most brilliant affair of the kind that has come off in our city for many a day. We shall expect to witness a very large attendance."[12]

Curiously enough, the same issue of the paper contained a report on the success of the dance:

> "*First annual ball of the* [*Marysville*] *Hebrew Benevolent Society.*—The Ball of Wednesday evening, given by the Hebrews of this city, for the benefit of their benevolent association, was the feature of the season. The Hall—it was held in the City Hall—was tastefully and appropriately decorated. We cannot do justice to the detail, and will, therefore, not attempt it; but cannot omit a notice of the two portraits of the Father of his country, that were placed vis a vis.
>
> There were present about seventy couples of beautiful women and brave men. We dare not attempt a description of the beauty, elegance and good taste of the former, the latter we will take the liberty of congratulating on their good fortune in being in such *fair* company.
>
> The music was exquisite, the managers all attention. Here we must pause to pay a well merited compliment. Never has there been a Ball in our city, where so much pain was taken, and with so much success, to make each feel that he was a favored guest. Strangers were introduced and provided with partners, the very best order was preserved, and the wants and desires of all cared for.
>
> The supper was served at the Haun House by that prince of caterers, Videau, and we need not add that everything was *au fait.* Our old time friend Henry has to make his first mistake.
>
> After supper, the dance was continued until the *we sma* hours were increasing in their number, so much as to admonish all of the propriety of breaking up, but all seemed loath to separate—but at length, good-bye was said and the pleasant reunion was broken up. It will long be remembered with pleasure by those who were so fortunate as to be participants."[13]

Actually, it was possible to stage the dance as an annual affair. A year later the Marysville local press again contained an announcement[14] and a report on the ball—strangely enough, again, in the same issue.

There was also

> "Purim in Marysville.—A dozen or more young gentlemen, arranged their toilets to suit their fancies, sallied out masquerading. . . Ed Wielander represented John Chinaman, and was so good that he barely escaped mobbing by a 'white man's' crowd he fell into. . . . This masked array made numerous calls upon their friends, and others. They were politely received and hospitally entertained, all parties being highly gratified of the excentries of the masquerade."[15]

Aid for Palestine was an expression of a religious-historic tie on the Pacific as well as the world over. A generous reception was granted a Palestinian emissary:

> "*Marysville.—*
> Rabbi Nathan Watkin, from Jerusalem, visited this city on Tuesday and Wednesday, as accredital Messenger to the continent of America to gather contributions from the Israelites for the relief of their suffering brethren in the Holy Land. He is accredited from the six different Congregations at Jerusalem; also the American Consul-General at that city, and the great English-philantropist Sir Moses Montefiore. The Marysville Hebrew Benevolent Society, as well as individual members, contributed liberally to the distinguished Rabbi's benevolent object. He paid a visit to his people in Oroville, February 7th, intending to return and go to Grass Valley and Nevada, where he will undoubtedly be liberally received."[16]

Economic rise in Marysville as well as in other cities was dependent on some new factors.

Fine taste and fashions entered even the small cities. Europe and the Eastern States were being lauded as shining models, even in the hamlets and villages:

> "Attention the Whole!
> New and elegant seasonable goods, arriving by every steamer.
> J. and C. Levy and Co.
> Are now receiving at their Pioneer City Dry Goods Store, on D. Street the largest and best selected stock . . .
> N. B. Jacob Levy has just arrived from Europe, and the Atlantic Cities, where he has made all necessary arrangements for the latest styles of Goods, which will be received by every steamer."[17]

And another branch of a San Francisco enterprise:

> "*Fall and Winter Goods*
> selling off at *New York Prices,* at the *Empire Dry Goods Store*
> H. Breslauer, Cohen and Co.
> Importers and Dealers . . .
> This house is a branch of one of the largest Dry Goods Houses in San Francisco and the only one in Marysville . . ."[18]

That way a refinement of the public's taste took place at the same time as dependence on fashion dictates from abroad was growing. All this was accompanied by an enlargement and a spread of the various companies.

Stockton is listed (1854) among the American Jewish communities.

"Organized Congregation. Society of Lovely Nation, for attending on the sick and the dead. President Mr. J. Zachariah."[19]

The first step towards a communal enterprise at Stockton was in the fall of 1851 when the Jews received as a gift a lot for a cemetery.[20] The Congregation Reim Ahuwim dedicated its synagogue on September 7, 1855.[21] Dr. Eckmann officiated. The Jewish press printed a list of the officers February, 1856.[22] Benjamin wrote of Stockton:

"The number of members of the congregation is 26, each of whom contributes $1.00 (monthly) for the upkeep of the synagogue. When I left California they hired a reader and a teacher for their children. Formerly, the congregation had been larger, but since then new camps of gold miners have sprung up near Stockton, and, thus, many of them moved away from the city to the interior of the country, to obtain greater profits."[23]

On October 19, 1868 a Hebrew Ladies Benevolent Society with twenty charter members was founded.[24] Hope Lodge No. 126 of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith was organized in 1869.[25] The officers of both groups are known to us.

The Stockton City Directory for 1873 contains the following additional data:

"*Jewish Synagogue.*—
Located on Hunter street bet. Fremont and Lindsay, Ryim Ahoovim Congregation, H. Lowenthal, Pastor . . . membership 35, . . . Sabbath School 10 to 12 A.M.; No. of scholars 45. The Synagogue during divine service is open to all and the preaching is generally delivered in English."[26]

Further entries refer to the *Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society* and *Hope Lodge No. 126, I.O.B. B'nai B'rith.*[27]

First mention of the Jewish cemetery in Stockton is made in 1851:

"San Joaquin Intelligence." (From Stockton "Journal.")
"Jewish Cemetery. The Jews have stolen a march on the Christians. They have provided a cemetery for their dead, which is enclosed with a strong, solid fence, and is in every way a credit and an honor to them. It is situated near the Calaveras. We are told that our cemetery is unenclosed and that the swine root up the interred bodies."[28]

Purim became a firm fixture in the organizational calendar of the Hebrew Benevolent Societies and was celebrated in Stockton like in other cities:

"Maskerade Ball.

Stockton . . . auspices of the Hebrew Benevolent Society . . . that ball will be the topic of conversation for the next six months . . . Japanese, Yankee, Indian, the Negro . . . and the rough son of old Erin . . ."[29]

In other regions of the State Jewish settlements did occur later than in the mining camps, but led to permanent community organizations. *Petaluma* in 1871:

"The Jewish Burial Ground of Petaluma will shortly be surrounded by a new and substantial fence, and other improvements are contemplated. The few Israelites there are alive to the necessity of taking proper care of so sacred a spot."[30]

". . . The Hebrew Congregation B'nai Israel some days ago was *reorganized* . . ."[31]

Woodland in Central California: in 1879, the "Woodland Hebrew Association was organized."[32]

The Jewish community of Oakland was organized comparatively late. Benjamin, who visited the place, mentions no Jews there. But a number of Jews who settled there did come to California quite early, e.g., Nathan Rosenberg from Hungary 1849, Samson Mayer from Germany 1850 and others.[33]

The Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized in 1861 and had its regular business meeting on the first Sunday of each month.[34]

The Oakland City Directory for 1877–78 reported as follows:

"First Hebrew Congregation of Oakland.

This congregation intends to build a church on the south side of Fourteenth Street between Franklin and Webster; they meet at present at Masonic Hall. Rabbi, vacant; J. Letter, President; J. Alexander, Vice President; Jacob Loebenstein, Secretary; Nathan Rosenberg, Treasurer; F. R. Mellus, Moses Rosenberg and Jacob Harris, Trustees."[35]

The Jewish press described the consecration of the synagogue[36] and gives a rather idyllic picture thereof:

"The little synagogue around the corner, capable of holding five hundred people, was well filled . . . Oakland is a most wonderful city for a bucolic burgh . . ."[37]

In a necrology for Julius Meyer "The Succah near the lately finished elegant villa at Oakland, the strict observance of the Sabbath" was made a point of special notice.[38]

CHAPTER 4

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

I

The Jews in the Economy of Southern California Up to the Civil War

While one is thrilled by the stormy drama of the growth of San Francisco and the mining region one should not overlook the more peaceful idyl in the background which had a truly decisive significance for the success of the settlement project in the entire area. The 'ranches" of Southern California fed Northern California. When the discovery of gold in British Columbia later caused a migration from California, Southern California supplied that area also with food. The development of the land route by way of Salt Lake City to Los Angeles was useful not only for the transportation of goods to the West, but permitted the merchants of Southern California to ship to other parts of the country—to the intermountain region and even beyond; thus, playing a part in the development of the Far West.

Southern California developed much more slowly than the North. In 1880 Los Angeles had 11,000 residents, among them about 500 Jews. Among the stores of the city, we find as early as 1850 "Labat Bros."[1] Salomon Lazard, who arrived in 1851, was later president of the first chamber of Commerce.[2] In the very incompletely preserved early press of Los Angeles we find not merely the announcements of the Jewish merchants there, but likewise general news of Jewish interest which justify the assumption that there existed an interest of the non-Jewish environment for the Jewish community and likewise that the Jewry in Southern California was sizable to be informed on events that were significant for them. From time to time there appeared also news items from the East which claimed the interest of the Jews as well as the general citizenry. The first issue of a Los Angeles newspaper related e.g.:

> "Major M. M. Noah, one of the oldest newspaper editors in the United States, died in New York on the 22d. March."[3]

One of the earliest advertisements in the *Los Angeles Star* may make us presume that at that time a Jew was active as lessee of one of those huge ranches which formed the very backbone of agricultural production in California:

> "Notice:
>
> Whereas, A. B. Moses and J. C. Morhead were copartners in the lease of the Rancho of San Francisco del Agua Hediando; and whereas said J. C. Morehead has failed to return to said Rancho . . . as stipulated. Therefore, know all persons, that the copartnership heretofore existing between said Moses and Morehead, is dissolved. Any action of said Morehead, with reference to said Rancho is illegal.
>
> June 28, 1951. A. B. Moses."[4]

The first commercial announcement of a Jew firm that can be exhibited dated from May 1, 1852, but the fact that it was repeated verbatim in later issues makes us believe that it was contained in much earlier issues that were lost:

> "Lazard and Kremer, corner of A. Bell's Row, wholesale and retail dealers in Drygoods, Clothing, Boots and Shoes, Groceries of all kinds, etc. which we will always sell at the lowest market price for cash.
>
> N.B. The highest price always paid for gold dust.
>
> Solomon Lazard
> Morice Kremer."[5]

Expressed in terms of Northern stores this advertisement—which repeatedly appeared in Spanish language, too—reflected the activity of a general store that was adjusted to the needs of an agricultural population.[6] At that very time there developed and changed their composition a number of Jewish firms whose announcements in the press were lost and which aimed at higher sights than the general store. Export and import, Commissions and marking establishments began to transform the trade at Los Angeles and a number of Jews shared in that development. Among them were, 1852, S. Lazard and Co.; Lazard and Bauman; Lazard and Kremer; Bauman and Katz; Hoffman and Laubheim,[7] while in 1853 the following individuals can be proven to have been Jews: Jacob Rich, Joseph Newmark, J. P. Newmark, Felix Bachman, Philip Sichel, Samuel Laubheim, Harris Newmark, E. Loewenthal, H. K. S. Labatt, Samuel Meyer and Loewenstein, M. Norton and E. Greenbaum, H. Goldberg, J. Cohen, Heiman Tischler, Louis Phillips, H. Hellman.[8]

In regard to the fate of one of the above mentioned firms and its continuance through one of its partners we learn:

"Dissolution of Copartnership.
The copartnership heretofore existing between the subscribers under the style of Furst and Adler is this day, by mutual consent, dissolved. The business will be continued by *J. B. Adler.*
Furst and Adler
Los Angeles, July 13th, 1853."[9]

The phenomenon repeated itself with another firm two weeks later:

"Dissolution.
The copartnership hitherto existing between the undersigned under the firm of Jacobi and Michael, is this day dissolved by mutual consent.
A. Jacobi is authorized to collect the outstanding debts of the late firm.
Arnold Jacobi
Moritz Michael.
Los Angeles, August 1st, 1853.
The undersigned will continue the former business for his sole account.
Arnold Jacobi."[10]

Another firm composed of three partners dissolved subsequent to the death of one of the three:

"Dissolution of Copartnership.
The copartnership heretofore existing between the subscribers under the name and style of L. Kahn and Co. is this day, by mutual consent dissolved. F. Bachman and H. Bauman are authorized to collect all debts due to the late *Leopold Kahn*
By Axon Kahn, his attorney,
Felix Bachman,
Henry Bauman,
Los Angeles, 3d August, 1853."[11]

Jewish merchants could be found in Los Angeles as well as in the North, and many a man who had come from there could profit from the experiences of a pioneer who tells us that the last man he saw in San Francisco and the first he met in Los Angeles were Jews.[12]

Clothing as well as dry goods were important branches of industry and the following item demonstrates how it was attempted to transplant them virtually unaltered to the South of California:

"Clothing and Dry Goods Emporium, Commercial Street, Los Angeles. . . . most Fashionable Stock of Dry Goods and Clothing found in this section of the State, imported from New York for their own trade in this market, and they are selling them at wholesale and retail but little in advance of New York prices.
. . . Elias and Brother."[13]

Noteworthy is the attempt to equal San Francisco by emphasizing direct purchases in New York and the independence of the Southern Californian market. In specialized products San Francisco firms advertised in Los Angeles, e.g.:

"R. Josephi and Co.
Importers of Watches, Jewelry, Tools. Watch Materials, Colt's Pistols, e.c. are now prepared to supply the trade in general, with all articles in the above line at the lowest prices. All orders from the country addressed to R. Josephi and Co., Washington Bath Building, Washington Street, between Kearny and Montgomery, San Francisco, will meet with prompt attention."[14]

Harris Newmark, author of a volume of memoirs, arrived in Los Angeles in 1853.[15]

Elias Laventhal arrived in 1854 and opened a dry goods store.[16]

In the advertising columns of the *Los Angeles Star* of August 24, 1854 we find "J. P. Newmark, Jacob Rich, and . . . Rich and Newmark, Importers . . . Dry and Fancy Goods and Clothing . . ."[17] as well as the advertisement of Lazard and Kremer.[18] On September 21, 1854 we read the announcement of

"M. Michael and Co.
General Merchandise,
Dry Goods, Clothing, Domestics, Boots, Shoes, Mellus Row, Los Angeles."[19]

B. Cohn arrived in 1854:

"Born in Prussia in 1836 . . . 16 years old, when he emigrated to this country, going first to New York, where he remained two years in the capacity of clerk. At the expiration of his two years he went to San Francisco, where he also engaged as clerk and where he remained fourteen months. In December 1854 he came to Los Angeles, and was in the dry goods business here for some time, still in the capacity of clerk."[20]

The same year Lazard and Kremer announced as assortment with new types of merchandise:

"*A Good Place to Trade.* — Messrs. Lazard and Kremer, in Ready-made Clothing, Dress and Fancy Goods, are not surpassed in the city. Those who deal with them once, know where to get bargains a second time."[21]

The appearance of ready-made clothing as well as better apparel in women's clothing, too, indicated that the days of the department store were not far off in the South either.

In addition to new names appearing in commercial ads we encounter news relating to the enlargement of enterprises that had to leave their marks on the city's appearance.

"Dry Goods and Clothing Emporium.

The undersigned have removed their entire stock of goods from their old stand, corner of Commercial and Principal streets, to the large and commodius store,

No. 2 Temple Block,

Next door to the Post Office, Principal Street, direct opposite their old stand, where they will be happy to see their old friends and customers . . . Elias and Brother."[22]

The commission business began to grow. Like in the mining region the firm link with San Francisco became basis of organization in Southern California and was announced accordingly:

"M. Kremer San Francisco — S. Lazard Los Angeles.

The undersigned, an old and well established firm, would respectfully inform their friends and patrons, that they are prepared to buy and sell Merchandise on commission. They are confident that from their knowledge of business, and familiarity with the market in San Francisco, (a member of their firm residing constantly in that city), they offer more facilities to the trading public that any other house can boast in this city.

All orders for the purchase of merchandise in San Francisco must be accompanied with the cash.

Lazard and Kremer
Los Angeles, August 24, 1854."[23]

Dealings in real estate:

"Wanted.

United States Bounty Land Warrants, for which the highest price will be paid.

M. Rosenstock . . . "[24]

Most numerous were the Jewish merchants engaged in the purchase and sale of agricultural produce of all kinds. For example:

"A New Grocery Store, Messrs. Newmark & Co. . . . Liquors . . . We will constantly receive fresh *eggs* and *butter* from San Bernardino." (LAS, May 10, 1856, p. 2).

Larger enterprises at that time possessed their stable business connections or even branch offices in San Bernardino:

"*L. Glaser,*
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Groceries and Provisions.
Wines and Liquors,
Dry Goods and Clothing,
Main Street
(in the old "Star Hotel" Building, Los Angeles).
N.B. A well selected stock of the above articles can always be found at my store in San Bernardino.
L. Glaser."[25]

The dealer with agricultural goods enlarged the scope of his undertaking by exchanging his products against others at rates which, of course, were regulated by the San Francisco market, tying that trade naturally to the commission businesses.

"Convenient.
Mess. Newmark and Kremer,
will exchange produce of all description for,
Hides, Lumber, Barley, Beans, Corn, Potatoes, Butter and Eggs. . . . They have constantly a buyer in San Francisco. . . . All kinds of goods purchased in San Francisco for orders, if accompanied with the cash . . . our charge will be 5 per cent, on the original invoice.
N. and K."[26]

The expression, "Produce of all kinds taken in exchange," is to be found repeatedly. Jacob Weil, Lexington, El Monte, added:

"Orders for all kind of lumber filled."[27] "Fresh Garden Seeds for Sale by Hellman and Co., Temple's Block, Main Street."[28]

More important than all these opportunities were those to enlarge the commercial links of the city to the markets in the interior. The inland-expeditions of Los Angeles Jewish merchants with goods, veritable caravans, which trod the highways of California trek back East, transports into other far-away centers taking

from and bringing new goods to Southern California. Thus, they established new commercial ties outside of the state and brought news on the general conditions existing there which were anxiously received and eagerly used.

Bachman and Co. was among the first to ship from Los Angeles to Utah. The domestic activities of that company were the same as those of other big produce houses:

> "Bachman and Co.
> Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Groceries, Wines, Liquors, Clothing, Hardware, etc. . . . Produce, Hides and Wool taken in exchange, Los Angeles Street, second house from Commercial Street, June 12th, 1858."[29]

In November, 1859, the *Los Angeles Star* reported:

> "From Salt Lake. Mr. B. Bachman returned from Salt Lake City this week. He has been absent about twelve months, and has been most successful in his business affairs. He brought with him 500 head of cattle, and only lost seven on the way—he was about a month on the road."[30]

In subsequent issues that paper gave descriptions of the conditions in Utah which in all likelihood were obtained from Bachman as the paper stressed its source of information having been "a gentleman just returned from Utah."

The commercial exploits of the Bachman expedition are revealed by an ad that appeared in that paper for an extended period of time and which showed how it competed for the Utah market:

> "Attention!
> Utah Merchants and Traders.
> *Bachman and Co.*
> Los Angeles, Cal.
> Wholesale Dealers
> in Groceries,
> Provisions,
> Liquors, Dry Goods, Boots and Shoes, and Grain, offer their large assortment of
> *Goods,*
> suitable for the *Utah Market,* at prices which cannot fail to ensure satisfaction."[31]

Utah was supplied by St. Louis merchants or directly from the East. Competitors from Los Angeles who desired to play a role,

too, had to be bold and exceedingly cheap. These were the conditions that ruled the Utah market and with which the Jewish merchants from Southern California had to comply.

A second expedition bringing and delivering goods was even more sensational than Bachman's. It was conducted by the Los Angeles firm of J. Calisher and Co. to Salt Lake City, but advanced even as far as Denver and people joined that expedition in Utah for the last part of the undertaking. A few days prior to the actual arrival the train was announced in the *Salt Lake City Press* as imminent:

> "Arrival from California.
> The latest and the best.
> *J. Calisher and Co.*
> Announce to the public of G.S.L. City and vicinity that their
> *Train of Goods*
> will be in this city on Monday, the 11th of June. The assortment consists of
> *Dry Goods,*
> Fancy Goods, Clothing, Boots and Shoes, School Books, Brass Kettles and Tin Ware, which will be offered for sale *Lower than the Lowest,* as we believe in small profits and quick returns.
> The public will do well to give us a call.
> A large assortment of the latest styles of Crinoline or Hoop Skirts.
> A liberal reduction to country dealers.
> J. Calisher and Co.
> One door south of Young and Irwin's."[32]

The publication of the business principles even before the arrival of the expedition is followed by a more detailed listing of the "Cheap Variety" which does not omit the discount for the peddlers:

> "That beats the Pony Express!
> The Train
> of
> J. Calisher and Co.
> Having arrived here from California in double quick time;
> They would announce to the public of G.S.L. City and vicinity that they will open on to-day, June 16th, 1860 a large and
> Cheap Variety of
> *Dry Goods* and
> *Fancy Goods;*
> consisting in Part of Prints, Silk and Velvet Ribbons, Trimmings,

Laces, Braids, and Tapes; also School Books, Brass Kettles, Tin Ware, Boots and Shoes, and Clothing; also, a lot of the best Hoop Skirts.

To Country Merchants and Pedlars, a liberal discount will be allowed.

J. Calisher and Co.
next door to Irwin and Young's."[33]

One month later J. Calisher and Co. informs us of a further principle which combined the slogan "Live and let live"—so dear to the German Jews—with the other "cheap for cash."

"Great Inducements!

A large amount of *Merchandise* to be sacrificed at unprecedented low prices, having opened our establishment on the *"Low Price"* and "Live and let live" System, the undersigned would call the attention of the people of Utah Territory to their

Choice and Assorted Stock
Dry Goods, Staple Goods, and *General Merchandise,* which they are determined to sell Cheap for Cash. If it is your intention to save money in your purchases, call and examine our Stock and Prices, before buying elsewhere, and you will soon be convinced of the truth of our assertion.

We take pleasure, and consider it no trouble to show our Goods.

J. Calisher and Co.
Next door to Young and Irwin's, Main Street."[34]

Both firms were later established in Utah.

Such huge expeditions toward the interior and the effort to create a new market in the Mormon country in Utah were mainly made possible by the familiar environment which the Jews of Southern California found at San Bernardino.

The Jewish merchants of Los Angeles had probably first made the acquaintance of the Mormons in San Bernardino. This Mormon outpost hade been built to guard the road to the Pacific and had a group of Jewish merchants. They were in constant touch with Los Angeles and the town had developed into an important marketing center on the road to Salt Lake City. The very fact of the founding of the city, the project to purchase the ranch of San Bernardino was reported in the California press, and we are entitled to assume that Jews from the very beginning were seeking to settle there:

"Mormon Settlement in the South.

. . . Here probably this interesting people will make their first establishment on the shores of the Pacific. They profess the best intentions towards the old settlers of the country, and show no disposition, in the slightest degree, to interfere with the rights of others. Thus acting, they deserve a kindly deliberation, and every encouragement in their plans of settlement."[35]

One of the earliest Jewish pioneers tells us about his travel to California that finally ended in San Bernardino:

"Dictation of Marcus Katz. 'Born in Germany, in 1824, came to the U.S. in 1845; landed in Baltimore. Mr. Katz was a clerk in a dry goods store, and remained there until 1850 when the California excitement broke out, and Mr. Katz started for that state, and came by the way of the Isthmus of Panama and landed in San Francisco in 1850. . . . He lived in San Francisco a year and one-half, and from there came down to Los Angeles, and from there to San Bernardino, which was in 1852. Mr. Katz was a merchant here. The Mormons were then in here and Mr. Katz went to the headquarters and got permission from them to go into business here. They treated him very kindly. . . . In 1852 the Mormon boys brought little nuggets of gold from the mountains, and the Mormons did not like it, for they were afraid that if there was any rumor got abroad that there was gold out here that the gentiles would come in and interfere with their arrangements . . . "[36]

But ultimately, San Bernardino was spared the gold rush. It remained a quiet community, calmly prospering and having all residents, particularly Jews and Mormons living in peace and brotherhood together.[37]

The first merchant there was Louis Jacobs. His partner in establishing a general store was J. R. Brunn.[38]

Mark Davids sold in 1854 a share of a saw mill situated in the mountains to Louis Jacobs and Louis Glaser, both of whom lived in San Bernardino.[39]

For the year 1856 we possess a news report that vividly depicts the idyl that existed at San Bernardino and also the function of the Jewish merchants in the community:

"The Mormons at San Bernardino:

. . . The population of the camp is about 2000 souls—their occupation, of course, strictly agricultural, with such mechanical branches only as are necessary for the construction of dwellings and the manufacture and repair of the required implements. Three stores, kept by Jews, supply the community with groceries, dry

goods, boots and shoes and hardware. The retail of spirituous liquor is prohibited by the requirements of a license of $100 per month. No quantity less than a quart can be obtained at either of the stores—only two of which keep the *ardent*."[10]

An incident not without some interest occured on June 13, 1855. The Mormon elder, David Seely, hit Louis Jacobs with a stick. Jacobs was seriously hurt. How the case was handled and settled within the community and with the wholehearted cooperation of the Mormons is noteworthy, indeed. It is a living monument to the harmonious communal living of the Jews and Mormons, and it is an impressive testimony to the highly developed sense of justice of the latter. According to the account by Seely's daughter,[41] Jacobs arrived at their place with his peddler's case, sold some goods and accepted chickens by way of payment. He left the chickens at Seely's. Some time later, he returned to pick up the chickens; and the two men began quarreling as to the eggs which had been laid in the meantime. In the course of that argument Jacobs was hit two or three times.

The Mormon's community, *pro foro interno,* disposed of the case by accepting the apologies of the repenting church functionary, but, however, took his church offices away from him:

"23 June 1855. A special conference (of the Mormons) was held at San Bernardino to transact business pertaining to the branch. The case of David Seely, president of the Stake, who had been guilty of striking Bro. Lewis Jacobs on the head with a stick that endangered his life, was tried. Bro. Seely confessed his fault and begged the forgiveness of the conference. On motion the conference dropped Bro. Seely from the presidency of the Stake and forgave him."[42]

The criminal proceeding for the assault and battery was then dropped at the request of Jacobs, Seely paying the cost incurred.

"The following order for stay of proceedings against David Seely, was then filed with the clerk by Louis Jacobs in person:

In Court of Sessions
for the County of San Bernardino — August Term
State of California — 1855

And now on the sixth day of August 1855, Lewis Jacobs appears before the Court in person and files with the Clerk his motion that all proceedings against David Seely for an Assault and Battery committed on the person of the said Jacobs on the thirteenth day of June A.D. 1855 be stayed upon the said Seely's pay-

ing all costs incurred on account of said prosecution and it appearing to the Court by the acknowledgement of said Jacobs in writing, that he has received Satisfaction in full by said Seely for all damages suffered by him by reason of said Assault and Battery and it also appearing to the Court, that the peace and tranquility of the Citizens of the County will be promoted by granting said motion. It is therefore ordered by the Court that all proceedings against the said David Seely for the Assault and Battery committed on the said Lewis Jacobs on the thirteenth day of June A.D. 1855 by stayed, the said Seely paying all costs incurred on account of said prosecution and that said David Seely be discharged therefrom.

D. M. Thomas, County Judge.
Justice W. Seely (Associate Justice)
Olsen A. M. Jackson, A. Justice."[43]

The sharpening of the Mormon question nationally and the outbreak of the Utah war made the shadows of events to come grow in California as everywhere else. Thus, the fate of the peaceful settlement of San Bernardino underwent a sudden change. When Marcus Katz returned to San Bernardino from San Diego, he found everything changed; th entire background of civic affairs had been altered:

"Things had changed materially. It appeared that a political party had come in here and the Mormons did not like it. The Mormons were going to settle the entire country from San Diego to Salt Lake City, own their own ships, and transport their own merchandise, and settle up the whole country. They were pushing that object right along, but they were called back to Salt Lake City in 1857 by Brigham Young to defend their Utah possessions. There were not many Mormons after that, only about one hundred and twenty-five. San Bernardino was then fenced in with high pickets, as the Mormons were afraid of the Indians and consequently fortified themselves."[44]

The retreat of the Mormons to Utah was already in full progress around the end of 1857. In December, 1857, we read:

"On the 31st several persons came in from San Bernardino. There was a very hostile spirit in California. They were driving out everything that ever smelt of Mormonism. The road from San Bernardino was lined with people on their way to G.S.L. Valley."[45]

Yet, the Jewish merchants of San Bernardino were not touched by those affairs:

"Mr. Katz first purchase of real estate was in 1857."[46]

At the same time he opened the first stationary and book store.[47]

In 1858, the town contained three small stores owned by Louis Jacobs, Calisher's and Auker's.[48]

Katz was chosen County Treasurer in 1858.[49]

After the Utah war, the Mormons returned to San Bernardino. At the outbreak of the Civil War, the Federal army sent a reconnaissance troop to the town. Its report reads:

> "The population of San Bernardino is about 1500 souls; 1000 of them are Mormons. The rest may be made up of some few respectable Americans, of a good many Jew merchants, who control the business of the town and go with any side that pays best for the time being; and then there follow adroit horse thieves and other unprincipled and desperate men, gathered into that point, as well from other parts of California as from Utah. There is a large sprinkling of this latter class. You can judge of a man whose character is such that he could not be tolerated in Utah. Now, the Mormons, whatever their professions, hate us at heart. . . . The Jews, as a rule, have no love for us. The outlaws hate, because they fear us. . . . All but the few respectable Americans would set us at defiance tomorrow if they dared to do so."[50]

In a further military report of June 3, 1861 the Jews of San Bernardino were mentioned again together with Mormons.[51]

However, the strong pro-Southern prejudices that existed in California disappeared, and the crisis evaporated. The new State found its place within the framework of the union and the mistrust harbored toward the population of California disappeared. The occupation of Utah during the Civil War continued.

Jews settled in San Diego quite early; the first, arriving in 1850, was probably Louise Rose.[52]

In 1851, Lewis Franklin, Jacob Marks, and Charles A. Fletcher were the only three Jews in town.[53]

In 1853, Joseph S. Manasseh arrived.[54] In the *San Diego Herald* Jewish firms from San Francisco advertised as early as 1851, e.g. in one issue:

> "J. Herzberg and Co., General Commission Merchants; New York Shirt Depot . . . Levy and Woolf, Berenhart, Jacoby and Co. Importers and General Merchants, Heydenfelt and Morse, Attorneys, J. Seligman and Co. . . . Importers . . . fancy and staple

dry goods . . . Selim and Franklin, . . . Importing Merchants, Markwald, Caspari and Co. Importers and Commission Merchants."[55]

That year, Strous and Kohn advertised their

"New Variety Store (with)
An entire new stock of choice and desirable *Goods,* recently purchased in San Francisco at the present low prices. . . . Dry Goods . . . Clothing . . . The subscribers are determined to sell at lower prices than have heretofore known in San Diego . . ."[56]

In addition to the choice of San Francisco as a source of purchases, we must add the same commission sales ads that we learned of in Los Angeles:

"To the merchants and traders of San Diego:
Marks Jacobs, Late of the Firm of Marks and Fletcher),
Commission Merchant and Shipping Agent, Clay Street, San Francisco,
. . . for the last three years in San Diego
. . . Orders and letters left with Mr. Katz, will be duly forwarded."[57]

Last, but not least the "cheap" advertisements are not absent either:

" . . . G. Lyons and Co's
Cheap
Variety Store . . ."[58]

Even the grocery store made its appearance then:

"Supplies of fresh provisions
. . . Louis Rose."[59]

The change of locations as well as the enlargement of enterprises were also advertised, e.g. by P. A. Goldman of San Diego, September 13, 1853.[60]

Jews were merchants in other localities of California in the 1850s. In San Jose (Western California) a number of Jewish stores are mentioned in 1853[61] and in Alameda a Mr. Cohan in 1854.[62]

II

Communal Life

In Southern California communal activities started so soon as Jews arrived in numbers at a given place. First High Holidays services there were reported in 1851 (Los Angeles and San Diego).

In most cases a Hebrew Benevolent Society was formed first in a community. The hope for a permanent congregation to emerge from the Hebrew Benevolent Society was not always fulfilled. Yet, it did take place in many communities where the steady influx and increased prosperity of the community made such development a natural one.

That was true first of all in Los Angeles, a group formed first a Hebrew Benevolent Society which provided for a cemetery, gathered the Jews on the holidays for improvised religious services and strengthened the community up to the day when a congregation could be formed to build a synagogue.

In the first Los Angeles census of 1850 the following 8 Jews are cited: Jacob Frankfort (Frankford), 40 years old; Morris Michaels, 19; Abraham Jacoby (Jacoba), 25; Augustin Wasserman, 24; Felix Bachman (Pachman), 28; Philip Sichel, 28; Joseph Plumer, 24; and Morris I. Goodman, 24. All of the above are listed as not married.[1] Approximately one sixth of the 30 natives of Germany in the census were Jews, two Jews were the only natives of Poland.

We can follow all the steps of the nascent Jewish community through the daily press, because no organizational records have reached us completely enough for that purpose:

> "The Israelites of this city have formed themselves into a society, under the name of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. At a meeting held on the 2d. inst, the following gentlemen were elected officers of the society:
> S. K. Labatt, President
> Chas. Shachno, Vice President
> Jacob Elias, Secretary and Treasurer
> S. Lazard and H. Goldberg, Trustees."[2]

The organization had its rules printed the same year, and these have been preserved.[3]

That organization was prepared to fulfill a task that was usually one of the first ones of a congregation, the laying out of a cemetery. The *Los Angeles Star* of April 14, 1855, p. 2, reported on this matter as follows:

> "Public Notice.
> Sealed Proposals will be received until the first day of May 1855, at the store of Mr. J. Elias, Secretary of the Society, for the purpose of building a wall, six feet high, nine inches thick and

one hundred feet front by fifty feet deep, to be built of brick. Said wall is to have a foundation of stone 12 inches in the ground and one foot wide, in the centre of front wall there is also to be a wooden double gate, eight feet wide and ten feet high, with proper hangings and lock and key, all to be done in a workmanlike manner.

The above contract will be let out to the lowest bidder, provided the lowest bidder gives the best security.

Two securities whose names shall be attached to the bid is required.

S. K. Labatt, President of the "Hebrew Benevolent Society."
Los Angeles, April 14, 1855."

Religious services were also held in 1855, on the High Holidays, by the members of the Society.

The following announcement of the coming holidays for Los Angeles shows us that the press of Southern California exhibited the same interest in Jewish affairs as the Northern press:

"Hebrew New Year.

Thursday and Friday were observed, by our fellow citizens of the Jewish persuasion, as the New Year's festival, the year commencing on the first of the Hebrew month Tishri, being the 29th of September. On this day week, the great fast called the day of Atonement will be celebrated, commencing on Friday eve and continuing till sundown on Saturday. This, we believe, is the most solemn holiday of the Jewish ritual, and is strictly observed by all members of the church. It is a sacred fast-day, and is devoted exclusively to religious services. All business is suspended, even the most common household duties being dispensed with."[4]

After the holidays in 1861 organized efforts for the forming of a congregation were made:

"Hebrew Festival.

The festival of New Year was celebrated this week by our Jewish fellow citizens. This is the commencement of the year 5622. The services commenced on Wednesday evening at 6 o'clock and continued till Tuesday evening at the same hour. The synagogue is in Arcadia Block, and is neatly and appropriately fitted up. Divine services were led by M. Golland, of San Francisco, whose solemn and impressive manner on the occasion deeply affected the whole Congregation.

The arrangements for the accommodation of worshippers were conducted by the Trustees."[5]

A few days later the Yom Kippur service was held and was announced as follows:

> "*Another Fast Day.*
>
> On Friday, next, at 6 o'clock P.M. will be commenced the solemn Fast of the Hebrew Church, 'Yom Kipper' (sic) or 'the long day,' which will be continued until 6 o'clock on Saturday evening. This is the most solemn of the sacred fasts of the Jewish people, and will be observed with the utmost rigor."[6]

The following item showed the preparation of an organizational nature as it had been done for the New Year:

> "*Hebrew Congregation.*
>
> On the 12th ult. a meeting of the Hebrew Congregation was held at the residence of Messrs. Norton and Greenbaum, for the purpose of electing officers for the coming year; when the following gentlemen were chosen for the respective offices indicated:
>
> President—B. Cohen.
>
> Vice-President—M. Norton.
>
> Secretary—Elias Cohen.
>
> Trustees—H. Morris, Greenbaum and H. Cohen."[7]

It had taken seven years to form a congregation out of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. The construction of a synagogue took place many years later. However, money for a building fund was solicited much earlier.

> "Hebrew Congregation.
>
> It will be seen by advertisement, that a ball will be given on Thursday evening next, at the Teutonia Hall, in aid of the Hebrew Congregation. It is intended, we believe, by this numerous and important body of our fellow citizens, to build a suitable house for the celebration of divine service, a congregation having been organized here. We are satisfied the community will readily respond to an appeal to this body, who are always prominent in contributing for every charitable purpose, without distinction of creed or country. Such liberality should be duly recognized and reciprocated."[8]

The announcement which was introduced by the above editorial comment had the following wording:

"Benefit
in aid of the
Hebrew Congregation.
Ball,
at the Teutonia Hall,
on Thursday Evening, Oct. 16.

Committee of Arrangements:
Judge Dryden
Philip Sichel
W. Kalisher
Samuel Prager

Floor Managers:

S. Lazard	M. Kremer
S. Laubheim	J. L. Morris
W. H. Peterson	M. Goldwater

Tickets $5.00 each."[9]

The actual happenings at the ball were described by the press:

"The Ball for the benefit of the Hebrew Congregation took place on Thursday evening, in the rooms of the Teutonia Society which were handsomely decorated for the occasion. The company was large, and the dancing was kept up with great spirit till an advanced hour. The supper table was elegantly laid, the viands consisting of all that luxury could supply or art suggest. Wines and liquors of choice quality were in abundance; an excellent band occupied the orchestra; the management was admirable; in fact, everthing was liberally supplied to promote pleasure, and the company were delighted with the festivities of the evening."[10]

The results of the election in the same Congregation were simultaneously announced:

"Los Angeles, October 14th, 1862.

At the Annual meeting of the Congregation Bnai Berith, the following gentlemen were elected officers:

President—Mr. Joseph Newmark.
Vice-President—W. Calisher.
Secretary and Treasurer—M. Behrent.
Trustees—Messrs. L. Levy, E. Laventhal and J. Cohen."[11]

In 1870 religious services were held in different places and under various auspices:

"Hebrew Congregation.

On Sunday morning next, June 5th, 1870—that being the first day of Whitsunside—religious service will be held at Teutonia Hall, and the interesting ceremony of the Confirmation of the Jewish youth and maidens of that city will take place. The public, generally, are cordially invited to attend. Rev. A. M. Edelman, officiating. Exercises to commence at 9 o'clock A.M."[12]

At the time of the High Holy Days of that year a newly-built synagogue was available:

"Dedication.

On the 26th inst, the new Synagogue, erected for the Congregation Sherith Israel, at the corner of Post and Taylor streets, will be dedicated with imposing ceremonies."[13]

A number of Jews held their services in the Court House. They expressed their gratitud publicly:

> "Acknowledgement.
>
> The Hebrews, who during the feast of the new year, and, . . . the Atonement; met in the Court House, for the want of a room in which all could join in the performance of their religious rites, cannot refrain from manifesting their obligations to Judge Sepulveda, . . .
>
> *Many Hebrews*."[14]

The *Succoth* (Feast of Tabernacles) holidays were celebrated in makeshift structures:

> "Feast of Tabernacles.
>
> . . . Mr. Levy has an apartment fitted up, in which divine service is celebrated, and in which he is joined by those who adhere to the old, orthodox Hebrew ritual.
>
> Service were also held at the residence of Rev. A. W. Edelman, on Sunday evening, and will likewise continue throughout the entire holidays."[15]

The Jewish press of California gives us more data on the forming of groups in Los Angeles at the occasion of the high Holy Days in 1870. There were

> "two places of worship in this city. The old congregation B.B. held their service at Steams Hall, which was crowded to excess. Many of our most eminent Christians were present . . .
>
> The other place of worship was merely a Minyan, gotten up by a few Jerusalem Israelites, who have lately settled down in this country . . . Business was almost suspended."[16]

Even numerous reports fail to give a full picture of the situation in Los Angeles.

The importance of The Hebrew Benevolent Society was particularly important in Los Angeles where a sýnagogue was built later and where no regular congregation was yet functioning. Special committees of the Society raised the sums needed for the poor:

> "Hebrew Benevolent Society of Los Angeles.
>
> At a special meeting of this society, held on Monday, the 9th ist, Messrs. S. Lazard and J. Sichel, of the Committee on Charity, presented a petition, praying that this Society may *take measures to relieve the indigent sick of this city during the prevailing sickness;* whereupon it was moved and seconded, that the Committee on Charity be empowered to render such assistance as in

their opinion they may deem proper, and that three more members be added to that Committee, to assist them in soliciting contributions and distributing the same.

M. S. Prager, President, appointed Messrs. M. Kremer, W. Kalisher and J. Cohen.

The meeting then adjourned."[17]

The above mentioned Committee decided on the distribution as follows:

"Los Angeles, Tuesday, February 10, 1863. Meeting of the Committee on Charity—Mr. Solomon Lazard, Chairman.

Moved and seconded, that the sum of hundred and fifty dollars, our of the funds of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, be expended, to procure nourishment for the sick, and that this Committee form themselves into a Committee of Relief, to solicit contributions and distribute the same to the indigent sick.

Resolved, that a copy of the proceedings be furnished to the newspapers of this city for publication.

H. Wartenberg, Secretary.

Contributions of any kind will be thankfully received during the prevalence of the sickness, by the following gentlemen: Solomon Lazard, Julius Sichel, Morris Kremer, Wolf Kalisher, and Isidor Cohn."[18]

The sickness with which the Society had to cope was probably a smallpox epidemic which was then rampant in the city.[19]

In 1869 the Ladies Society was particularly active for the synagogue's building fund.

"Los Angeles.—The ladies fair held lately at Abel Stearn's Hall, in aid of the building fund of the Hebrew Congregation of this city, has proved a great success, and netted a handsome sum to the worthy cause."[20]

Later we also learn how large a sum was raised:

"Los Angeles.—The sum of $1170 has been realized at the fair, recently held in aid of the building fund of the Congregation B'nai B'rith of this city."[21]

A year later the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society was expressly mentioned as the sponsor of a benefit performance of the Circus Lee and Co., the proceeds of which were to go to the Society.[22]

A report of a later meeting informs us about the cemetery and the principles of expanding help:

"Hebrew Benevolent Society.—On Sunday evening the above-named society held its annual meeting for the transaction of general business and for the election of officers.

H. Wartenberg Esq., the retiring president, made the following interesting report, which we have great pleasure in laying before the public:

The Cemetery . . . three acres of ground within the city limits, all fenced in, . . . should be laid out in walks and avenues, and planted with evergreens.

Expenses.

. . . it made no difference whether the applicant was a Jew or Gentile so long as he was actually in need of assistance, he invariably received it. . . . "[23]

Finally Congregation B'nai Israel was successful:

"The new synagogue of Los Angeles, California, was dedicated on August 8th. It is entirely orthodox in its ritual. The building is described as exceedingly tastefuly, built of brick in the Gothic style. The sale of seats took place on the 10th, inst., and was so successful that, with but half of the seats disposed of, nearly the entire cost of the building has been realized. The Congregation may thus be congratulated for being out of debt, and the city of Los Angeles for having so peaceful and active a community as the Jews."[24]

The architectural design of the synagogue as compared with similar structures of other denominations in the city received high praise by the Los Angeles press.[25]

In Los Angeles a private individual had accepted the responsibility—yet too burdensome for the community—to satisfy the ritual needs:

"Kosher Meat.
Mr. H. M. Cohen
Informs his friends that he has opened a Butcher Shop adjoining his Restaurant, where he will serve his customers with the best Kosher Meat.
Los Angeles, August 2d, 1862."[26]

The imminent visit of Rabbi A. Z. Sneerson was announced in the Los Angeles Press.[27]

The reception he was accorded in Los Angeles was overwhelming after an article, "The Roumanian Massacre," [28] had appeared. The following special tribute was paid to him on his arrival.

"Arrival of Rabbi Sneerson.

This distinguished scholar and traveler has honored our city

by making a visit here. It is scarcely necessary to say he was received with the courtesy and attention due to his position, as has been the case wherever he has travelled, throughout the United States. He delivered several lectures in San Francisco, and it is to be hoped his friends here may persuade him to favor this community with a repetition of some of these interesting discourses which have given such satisfaction wherever they have been delivered."[29]

The same paper later published an article, "Rabbi Sneerson and President Grant,"[30] relating how the rabbi had visited the President and submitted to him an address, as well as an item on the two lectures which the rabbi had delivered in Los Angeles.[31]

There was some interest in the Alliance Israélite Universelle in the city and the bulletin of that organization registered new members in Los Angeles in the years 1868 and 1869.[32]

About the activity of the school in Los Angeles a report reached us dating back to those same years:

"Los Angeles, September 15th.

Concerning the examination of the Rev. A. W. Edleman's Hebrew School . . . it cannot be omitted to mention that prominent among the bright scholars of Dr. Edleman's school who acquitted themselves in a very successful manner, were the following: Miss Rachel Edleman, Miss E. Levy, Miss S. Solomon, Miss E. Lasky, Masters Isaac Benjamin, Henry Katz, Michael Lasky, M. Lowenstein, Marky Katz, Morris Newmark, and J. and F. Fleishman, all of whom displayed a high degree of culture, ability and learning . . ."[33]

The celebration of the Bar Mitzvah of Maurice H. Newmark in grand style was recorded in Los Angeles.[34] The confirmation was included as educational pillar of community life. *The first ceremony of that kind* with 9 participants was held in Los Angeles:

"*Confirmation Ceremonies* of the Congregation B. B. Los Angeles, June 10, 1870 . . .

Last Sunday Morning being the anniversary of Divine revelation, the Teutonia Hall was crowded . . ."[35]

Some parents were concerned about higher Jewish education and based their approach on the thought that Hebrew should be introduced as a subject at the State University of California. This

is proven by a Memorial dating back to 1872 demonstrating impressively that at least some of the parents took their education obligations seriously:

"... the Hebrew language in our State University. At the last session of the Regents of the State University of California the following memorial, asking that instruction be provided in Hebrew, was presented by some of our co-religionists. . . . The undersigned, who have sons attending the State University would esteem it as a great favor if you would provide, even though in a moderate way, for instruction in Hebrew in your institution. The number of Israelites on this coast is numerous, and among all of our faith there is a strong predilection for this ancient tongue, whenever any of us seek to acquire a liberal education. The expense of instruction in Hebrew, as we propose would be but trifling.

Respectfully submitted

M. Levy	Mrs. R. Heyneman,
S. May	S. Hirschfelder
Chas. L. Preble	O. S. Lang
	N. Newmark."[36]

Social life in Los Angeles was brisk and even the arrival of a tourist there could give the entire community the enrichment of a joint experience, as e.g. the reception and the farewell accorded to the European traveller, J. J. Benjamin:

"A Card.

Los Angeles, January 11, 1861. Mr. J. J. Benjamin begs to return his thanks to the numerous friends which he has found in the cities of Los Angeles and San Bernardino, as well as to the Hebrew Benevolent Societies thereof, and also to the Hebrew congregation of the city of Los Angeles, for the cordial manner in which they received him and the aid extended toward his enterprise for the aid of the persecuted people of Israel, wherever found in his travels.

He purposes going today on the steamer to San Francisco, and bids all his friends a kind adieu. J. J. Benjamin II."[37]

Even without any formal organization there were balls staged at all kinds of events which were soon thought of. The following correspondent's reports gives this vivid picture of the situation:

Los Angeles, March 14, 1870.

. . . As in every town where our co-religionists dwell in sufficient numbers, entertainment and social affairs play an important role,

the same is true here. In that regard we do not rank behind San Francisco.

For example, we had one event after the other, all within four weeks. At first a party on the occasion of the engagement of Miss Levin, a niece of Mr. Levinstein of this community, with Mr. Levy of the firm of Levy and Coblentz, an occasion that was enjoyed tremendously by all parties that attended. There was also a ball staged by the young people in honor of the S. Hellmann couple, which was well attended. Then there was the wedding of Mr. Steinhardt with Miss Davis, which was held early last week in Anaheim, a city about 28 miles from here. It was held at the home of Mr. P. Davis, brother of the bride and a large crowd was present. The wedding ceremony was performed by the Chasan of the local community, Rev. Edelman, in a most dignified manner; and it was followed by a grand ball, participated in by the young people until the morning of the following day."[38]

Intellectual poverty hiding behind merely social activities was fully realized by an occasional visitor:

"... Socially, our Jews are capital fellows. They make every stranger welcome at their firesides, and if that stranger happens to be a poker-sharp, he is doubly welcome, especially when some of the ladies, who are experts in the matter of "flushes and straits" take a fancy to the newcomer. There are but few books in the houses of our Jews, and those they possess are usually forced upon them by canvassers, hence it is that among five hundred souls professing a belief in one God, but two copies of the *Israelite* are taken, and but one copy each of the San Francisco Jewish papers. . . ."[39]

In 1899 the "First Jewish Golden Wedding" was celebrated in the city:

The Nortons came to this city in 1850. They and the Greenbaums were the only Jewish families residing here at that time. In 1854, Mr. Norton and a few others organized the congregation B'nai B'rith and Hebrew Benevolent Society, which was then a joint institution, and the first services were held in his house. He remained member ever since."[40]

The news on the first Jewish settlers in San Bernardino were later supplemented by reports in the Jewish press and those by Benjamin; they illustrate dramatically the growth of the Jewish community. When the Mormons living in California were called by the central authorities of the Church of Latter Day Saints to Utah, the Jews formed, though only for a brief while, the major-

ity of the remaining merchants settled in San Bernardino. Soon after the termination of the Utah War a new Mormon community was established in California and the church opened a new branch headed by A. Potter; the Jewish press, too, reported thereon.[41]

Benjamin did not find any Jewish organization at San Bernardino:

> "On January 1, 1861, I assembled the Jews of San Bernardino, altogether thirty persons, and I impressed upon them the necessity of forming a benevolent society, so as not to fall behind their California co-religionists. They took counsel and soon a society was founded. They also decided to buy a burial ground. I was very happy to have done a good deed in the wilderness and to find so much Jewish sentiment everywhere.
>
> Israelites here, as elsewhere, till the soil, own ranches, have much life stock, and live as happily as is humanly possible."[42]

A deed of land to Marcus Katz for a cemetery is dated May 20, 1861.[43] This was probably as a result of the resolution inspired by Benjamin.

In connection with the Rosh-ha-Shana services in 1864, we learn that about 12 Jews were living in the city.[44] In a listing of all San Bernardino merchants that year, ten Jews were selling "general merchandise." M. Katz was also listed as a bookseller.[45]

A B'nai B'rith lodge was founded in San Bernardino in 1875.[46] A year later, a member of that order reported on his stay there:

> "San Bernardino, Cal.—Pilgrimages of a Ben Berith.
>
> San Bernardino was settled about thirty years ago by the Mormons. The city owes much to the forethought of those shrewd, but peculiar people. They left it in a body when Brigham Young called in his out-posts at the time of Sidney Johnson's invasion, and now there are only a few Mormons in the place. A thriving business used to be carried on with Southern Utah, which is only two hundred miles distant, and from which there is a good wagon road, but the building of the Central Pacific Railroad has stopped all that. The Utah folks no longer come to San Bernardino to trade. The Southern Pacific has also injured the place by leaving it out in the cold; but the citizens have not yet lost heart, and look forward to the building of some road to the east, which shall come through their city . . .
>
> Paradise Lodge No. 237 was established but a year ago. It has only a small membership, there not being over 25 Jews in the place."[47]

Attempts of an educational nature were launched. Actually, in small communities educational efforts gained much more public interest than in noisy San Francisco. The local press reveals remarkable activity in San Bernardino. In 1868 we are told about the opening of a school:

> "New School.
>
> On Wednesday last, the formal opening of the San Bernardino Hebrew and English Academy took place at the school room, in the building formerly used by the Catholics as a church . . . Large assemblage of children and parents . . . The proceeding commenced with a few appropriate remarks by Marcus Katz, Esq., who introduced the teacher, Mr. Bergel to the assembly. Mr. B. then delivered an address to the children impressing upon them the importance of fearing God; loving their parents and obeying their teacher. Mr. B. subsequently addressed the company in the German language, which we are informed by those capable of judging, was very eloquent. Addresses were also made by H. Goldberg, Mr. J. Jacobs, and Mr. A. Franklin, the last named gentleman's remarks causing the little ones a great deal of interest, from the poetic manner in which he addressed them. Announcement was made to the children when to appear at school and the affair closed to the satisfaction of all."[48]

A later report showed that the school did make progress and staged a Chanukah celebration the winter of the same year:

> "Progressing . . . On Tuesday evening last the School children participated in the feast of 'Hanucah.' . . . We noticed some of our respectable and respected heads of families, deeply affected at the simple but impressive ceremony for the preparation of which th parents and the children are indebted to Mr. Bergel."[49]

On June 11, 1869 we are told that the same teacher was holding the "San Bernardino Hebrew and English School Examination."[50] A California Jewish paper contained the following notice during the following year:

> "San Bernardino, April 21, 1870.
>
> In response to numerous requests the performance of the play, "Joseph and His Brothers," first staged on Purim, and performed by the children of the local Hebrew School, was repeated here yesterday."[51]

A Purim celebration was reported a year later, too:

> "San Bernardino, March 11, 1871.
>
> After a long interval, on the seventh of this month, the day

before Purim, we were pleasantly entertained by the students of the local Hebrew School who produced a number of playlets at Kelting Hall."[52]

They performed "Esther" in English, and "Moses before Pharao" and "The Night-Watchman" in German.[53]

A celebration of an anniversary of the Benevolent Society took place:

"Our Hebrew fellow-citizens celebrated the *7th anniversary of the society of Chebra Gemeluth Chesed,* on Thursday evening last, at the residence of M. A. Franklin, Esq. A large company of ladies and gentlemen were present, and enjoyed themselves in the most satisfactory manner until a late hour in the night."[54]

The German *turn-vereins* had devoted members and leaders among the Jews.

"Turnverein Festival.

The May Festival of the San Bernardino Turnverein took place on Sunday last, and was a very fine affair. . . . The assemblage being called to order by Mr. S. Caro, the Chairman of the Day, Professor Bergel was introduced and delivered in his usual happy style, in a very able and interesting address; . . . Mr. Reich, the President of the Society . . . delivered an address in German . . . addresses were delivered by Messrs. Katz, Hirsch and Herold . . . torch light procession through the principal streets of the town. . . . On Monday evening there was a grand ball, in the large brick building of L. Jacobs, Esqu. . . . Mr. Mintzer furnished the room with the new gasoline light. . . . "[55]

Occasionally an antisemitic incident took place in San Bernardino, too.[56]

"San Diego, First Jewish Service Rosh Shana, 5612-1851."[57] The *San Diego Herald* (October 9, 1851) reports that Lewis Franklin, Jacob Marks and Charles A. Fletcher assembled on Yom Kippur in Fletcher's house for prayer.[58]

From the diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes we learn that all Jewish stores were closed on the Jewish New Year (1856), but only one on Sabbath.[59]

The following notice appeared in the *San Diego Herald* (September 3, 1853, p. 2):

"Hebrew Marriage.

Married in San Diego, on Wednesday, the 24th inst. by Rabbi Kohn, in accordance with the rites of the Jewish religion, Miss

Lea Marks, daughter of our esteemed fellow citizen Jacob Marks, to Mr. Morris Katz."

The number of Jews was so small that only one united effort was possible; one had to decide whether the organization to be created was a Hebrew Benevolent Society or a religious congregation. This was illustrated by the following report:

"San Diego, September 29, 1871.
. . . three years ago but two Jewish families resided here, gradually the number increased, so that we have now fourteen families and are classified as follows: about fifty men, fourteen women and thirty-four children. About two years ago, steps were taken to form either a congregation or a benevolent society, but the lack of spirit at that time prevented it. We had religious meetings here on Rosh Hashonah and Jom Hakippur since 1869, and Mr. Marcus Schiller, one of our oldest inhabitants in the city, had formerly kindly offered his parlor for that purpose, but this year, the number of Israelites have increased to such an extent, that the room, formerly occupied, was too small for religious services. . . . In the afternoon, on the second day of Rosh Hashanah, while the greatest portion of the Jewish inhabitants met accidentally, a proposition was made to form a society, and Erew Jom Hakippur was appointed as the day of our organization."[60]

Benjamin found about 50 Jews in San Josè, 10 of whom were married. The community had no permanent organization, and merely had a cantor come for the High Holy Days. There was a Jewish cemetery.[61]

The synagogue was dedicated in August, 1870.[62] Dr. Elkan Cohn of San Francisco preached the dedication sermon.[63]

Even the Jewish press on the Atlantic related that event:

"The Jews of San Josè, California, consecrated their new and beautiful synagogue on Sunday, August 21; Rev. Mr. Lowenthal, formerly of Quincy, is the Rabbi . . ."[64]

A later report 1877):

"There is a Jewish congregation of forty members in this city, called *Bikkur Cholim,* established in 1861, and chartered as a congregation in 1871. The officers are: Messrs. M. Blumenthal, President; J. Feist, Vice President; J. C. Koppel, Secretary, and Reverend M. S. Levy is the minister . . . instructs forty-five children."

The Jews were "prominent in bank and mining business. It

must be known that not far from here are the quicksilver mines, which are an important item in the wealth of this country."[65]

The Jewish ladies there—without having an organization of their own—"have forwarded assistance to this city during the past week, to a benevolent society, for the purpose of relieving those of their sex who are in needy circumstances."[66]

Of Santa Cruz (1877):

> "In the evening there was a meeting of all the Israelites of this city in the St. Charles Hotel. There were twenty gentlemen and nineteen ladies there. They support a charitable society called the Benevolent Society, to which each of the twenty members contribut fifty cents a month. New Year and Day of Atonement they hold divine service according to Jewish custom, and that is all there is left of Judaism in public practice. The officers are: Mr. Barnet, President; Mr. Blum, Vice President; Mr. Coblenz, Secretary; Mr. Schwab, Trustee. The funds are applied to charitable purposes, including support to the Orphan Asylum at San Francisco."[67]

"Vera Cruz, California," also had a Jewish cemetery.[68]

III

Later economic developments

From Southern California Jewish firms often established trading posts inland.

In Tejon (1860) a store at the post was owned by Harris Newmark of Los Angeles.[1]

Jews were sutlers in military camps, e.g. Camp Fitzgerald (1861).[2]

The development of the Utah trade from Los Angeles proved to be a matter of permanent gain. Actually, initially it formed the only source of information for the press:

> "From Salt Lake City.
>
> By the arrival of M. B. Bachman in this city, we have advices from Salt Lake City. The papers, *Desert News* and *Mountaineer,* contain no local news of interest. Mr. B. reports the road in good order; the Indians peaceable. Business was dull in the City, and money scarce. It was supposed the troops would be withdrawn from Camp Floyd—a proceeding which was much deprecated there, as it would leave the Territory unprotected, and give

the Indians an opportunity of re-opening their attacks on emigrants. Mr. Bachman brought through with him a number of fine American horses."[3]

The trade with Utah became an important part of the California trade, Jewish merchants gave credit to the Mormon leaders.[4]

Firms established in Salt Lake City were often California Jews and advertised themselves as such: ,

> "New Goods — S. Wormser and Co., late of California, have just opened a splendid assortment of staple and fancy dry goods, ladies shoes, trimming, etc. just imported from California. They offer their entire stock low at wholesale, at their store west side of Main Street, Salt Lake City, next door to Cronin and Clayton's."[5]

The firm which Harris Newmark had founded played an exceptional role in Los Angeles, and it was so important that its size and methods made it comparable to any house in San Francisco.

> Establishment of H. Newmark and Co.
> . . . The books of this concern which we were permitted to inspect, are under charge of Mr. Witkosky, an accomplished accountant, who has introduced several new methods which greatly facilitates the conduct of the business. Newmark and Co. evidently have one of the largest business houses in California."[6]

Likewise there existed in other parts of South California enterprises by Jews which by their size were considered by their communities and even the whole country as pioneering, e.g., when the press reported on a merchant of a small city:

> "Mr. Lewis Jacobs, of San Bernardino, imported by the steamer this week eighty tons of freight. . . . This is a good showing for San Bernardino, and we hope the other merchants among our neighbours are doing equally well."[7]

Judge Hayes mentions the tannery and real estate business as special activities of the Jews.[8]

In banking the Jewish house of J. M. Hellman in Los Angeles was of importance.[9]

Occasionally a mining adventure could start from Southern California, too:

> "In 1863 the gold excitement broke out in Colorado, and

attracted by rumors from that country he left here and went to Colorado. When the war broke out, he was at Fort Union, and made considerable money out of Government contracts, in transporting supplies. He underbid the rest and still made money. Followed that business for two years and then went to Arizona. . . . Vulture mine. . . . He began to furnish supplies to the owners of the mine, . . . in 1876 he returned to Los Angeles and established the grocery house of Hellman, Hass and Co. . . . ."[10]

IV

Agricultural Achievements

The other California—not seized by the stampede of the gold rush and the feverish speculations of the new commercial empire of San Francisco—was the California of the georgeous climate where the golden sun brings all fruit to the ripeness of perfection and whence Jews reported the first successes in agriculture and the cultivation of grapes became a shining symbol for the Jews in all the world, and Los Angeles became the point of departure for such ventures. The great enthusiasm among the Jewry in all the world which was fanned in the Jewish press coincided with a yearning for a greater closeness to the soil on the part of the Jews in Europe, which resulted in ever-recurring schemes for agricultural settlements of emigrants in the New World. In this continuing emotional atmosphere the extensive reports in Jewish newspapers about the model farms and vineyards of Jews in California engendered a great deal of enthusiasm and became a popular feature in the Jewish World Press.[1]

In the American Jewish Press such reports appeared as early as 1860, like the following, describing the first successful attempts in the San Francisco Bay area, around Sacramento, and also in Southern California:

> "Jewish Agriculturists and Stock Raisers.
>
> " . . . Nor is California behind hand; Jewish rancheros are to be met with very frequently. There are some in this city (San Francisco) and across the bay; some six or seven, at and around Sacramento. At San Bernardino, Mr. Simon Jackson, a worthy and substantial gentleman, follows husbandry to his great satisfaction, for several years with success.
>
> He informed us that no less than five Hebrews round San Bernardino are occupied in raising stock.

The grape is cultivated by Israelites with energy and delight across the bay at Martinez . . . *Gleaner*."[2]

Such reports continued to appear there even during the period of the Civil War.[3]

The European Jewish reading public, whose interest had been stimulated by similar accounts of Benjamin, the Traveler, was exposed to reports which regarded the agricultural trend among the California Jews as higly important for the situation of American Jewry in general.

Such reports seem to have been sent with particular frequency by the Los Angeles correspondent of Jewish papers and thus the firm impression was created among all the Jews that this town was very closely connected with every agricultural venture of Jews in California.[4]

In a fact-finding self-evaluation on the part of the Southern California Jewry itself, the agricultural production was designated as one of its largest economic interests:

"Los Angeles, California.

. . . In commercial circles the Hebrews predominate, and the largest banking establishment in Southern California is under the management of an Israelite. One of our greatest interests, the production of wines and brandies, which has received so much prominence in the East of late years, is mostly due to the firm of B. Dreyfus and Co., of our country. They have the largest vineyards in the world, which are situated in the southern portion of the country near the thriving town of Anaheim. Our co-religionists are not only found in the city, but many are cultivating beautiful orange groves and vineyards, which are an immense source of income."[5]

However, we need not rely only on the opinion of the Jews in Southern California. We have a number of appreciative evaluations by non-Jewish experts who were aware of Jewish achievements and, in particular, recognized the pioneer work done in Jewish vineyards. One report describes one of these grape cultures in Jewish ownership:

"One of the features of Anaheim is the establishment of Mr. B. (en) Dreyfus, who owns about two hundred acres of the vineyards in this city. His annual vintage, the season being propitious, averages about 175,000 gallons, the whole of which finds a market at the East . . .

Mr. D. has recently assumed control of the Cucamonga vineyard, and will, as a matter of course, largely increase his manufacture."[6]

The afore-mentioned new Cucamonga Company comprised 14,500 acres of cultivated vineyards and our reporter transmitted his impression of this establishment in the following sentence:

"I have nowhere seen a vineyard which presented a finer appearance than Cucamonga."[7]

It is particularly emphasized by these experts that the California grapes at first did not appeal to the palates of the Atlantic Coast customers, and it was only the continual experimentation of Mr. Dreyfus which succeeded in making the California product popular on the Eastern market. Furthermore there existed in Los Angeles the well known firm of Kohler and Froehling whose vineyards were to be found there.[8]

CHAPTER 5

FOUNDING OF FAMILIES IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF CALIFORNIA

For the community of the newly arrived Jewish men in the early pioneer stage on the Pacific, the founding of families became synonymous with the establishment of a lasting Jewish community. Sending for their families who had remained on the Atlantic border constituted the first step not only toward living in family groups, but also toward a closer community organization which must put the synagogue in its center. This transitional period was attended by the workings of economic, social, and religious forces which were to exert a decisive influence on the Jewish personality; the latter are comprehensively described in one of the earliest accounts of family organization in California.[1]

However, not only the decision of the married men to throw in their lot of their families with that of the new community on the Pacific was a decisive influence, but even more so that of the majority of single men to start their families there. The scarcity of women in the early years of the Californian settlement was even more acutely apparent in the Jewish community, but their

efforts to find suitable Jewish brides were all the greater, and the traditional method of sending prospective brides to the New World from the European home towns was here even more popular than in other parts of America. European reports of this period praise the virtual absence of "dowry-marriages", which were the traditional practice in Europe:

> "The women are also very amiable, for here love is the basis of all marriages and there is no 'selling' like in Germany. I believe the total marital property of all married men would hardly amount to 100 dollars."[2]

In the mining camps it was, in general, more difficult to rear a family; we find a description of the various obstacles in a case, which is probably typical.[3]

In the early years the substance of Jewish community life consisted to a far greater extent in the uniform organization of Jewish families than in religious observance:

> "Sabbath observance is infrequent, but there are no intermarriages and up to now only three family heads have refused to have their sons circumcised."[4]

Divorces were very infrequent with the California Jews in these early years. It was only after a few decades, after the completion of the process of urbanization and the establishment of an upper class of the newly rich that divorce put in its appearance to the same extent as in other parts of America; in the opinion of an expert observer, financial reasons were responsible in most cases:

> "San Francisco.
>
> . . . There were one hundred and eighty divorces in this city during the last year, and that speaks well for our modern idea of trying to be at least as good as our neighbors in Illinois and Indiana. In that number there are no more than twenty-nine Jews or, rather, Jewesses, who were anxious to get rid of the ties, which bound them to the men for whom they had no further use when their money was gone. It is a sad commentary to be sure, but it is true, all the same, taken from our records, and nobody dare deny it. I tell you we are marching on; and if a husband has not the necessary fixings for poker parties, he might as well turn over his establishment to the next best man, and that is the true business."[5]

Similar economic developments as in the rest of the country brought the marital situation of the pioneer days to a close, and

towards the end of our period we find a surplus of marriageable women even among the California Jews, and the "dowry-marriage" has taken a new lease on life:

> "San Francisco.
>
> Help the girls to husbands.
>
> Thirty years ago it was a proud privilege to be introduced to a Jewish girl in this country, particularly in California, where the few girls in short dresses were addressed as ladies. I remember, that even in New York, in 1850, a good-looking, marriageable Jewess was a precious prize, and lucky was he who found her. Many a man sent for his wife, whom he knew only by reputation, or because her brother or friend recommended her, and he did not begrudge either the passage money or the costly outfit, albeit that he could have waited and done considerably better. But the girls were scarce then, and there is no home without a mother. Things have changed since then. Even in California the girls go a begging. The market is overstocked, and, contrary to all precedents, the girls are obliged to observe leap-year every day of their lives, if they are ambitious to reach their goal. A girl must be good-looking, well educated, and have a father (no matter about his slavery or previous condition), who has a large bank account, otherwise the bargain is off."[6]

Our reporter even suggests a revival of the ancient Jewish practice of "bridal endowment" (Hachnosath Kaloh).

In connection with the early cases of inter-marriages of Jewish men with Christian girls, specific mention is made of the latters conversion to the Jewish faith: (1859)

> "In California, within the past few years, some four or five Christian females have abjured their faith taking Jewish husbands."[7]

In the course of time, as intermarriages were gradually becoming more common, this type of alliance, where the man was the Jewish partner, constituted the predominant part of the intermarriages; the same reasons as in Europe were given for the attraction of Christian girls to such marriages:

> "It is conceded on all sides, and no one knows better than the Christian girls who have married Jews, that the best husbands and providers are those of the Semitic race, and while one hundred Jews will be taken in by the blandishments of ye American girls, not one per cent of our Jewish girls will care to ally themselves to a Christian who, generally speaking, is improvident and will not go

> out and peddle, and tear and wear and climb the steep mountains in Indian territories in order to keep his wife and children comfortably."[8]

An amateur statistician, who tabulated the figures for a number of decades, gave the following numerical values for the two categories and the resulting distribution of religious adherence for San Francisco: (1883)

> ". . . It has taken me about a year to ascertain the following facts, and when I say facts they mean nothing else: There are in this city thirty-nine Jewesses who are married to Christians, two of whom became Christians, eight brought their husbands to their faith, while the rest never enter into religious discussions. There are 163 Christian girls who married Jews; all but thirteen have adopted the faith of their husband."[9]

At this time family tragedies as the result of suicides, mostly for financial reasons—were no longer uncommon:

> (1882) "San Francisco.—There were eighty-nine suicides last year, thirteen of whom—an ungodly number—were Jews, altogether too many in proportion to our numbers. . ."[10]

Thus, the Jewish community of California, in the course of time, became more and more like the rest of the population in this vital statistical behavior.

CHAPTER 6

THE LIFE OF THE JEWS IN CALIFORNIA'S NEW SOCIETY

The new society on the Pacific, of which the Jews were an integral part after some time, started with a wild medley of nationalities. The conflict between Anglo-Americans and the Spanish-Americans yet provided the major element for the tension between the American nativists and the "foreigners". In addition thereto and not as easily discernible there existed other crosscurrents, e.g., the aversion against the Jews.

That mixture of nationalities impressed every unbiased observer:

". . . the d-d Yankee, the chivalric Southerner, the long bearded miner, Jew and Gentile, are mixed in the throng, giving a peculiar life and style to that portion of unburned San Francisco. . ."[1]

For all European nationalities and for the Latin-Americans, —for the former due to their European experiences, for the latter on the basis of their religious tradition—the Jew was well-known. He created unusual emotions even though he did not provoke physical violence, as the Latin-Americans did when attacked:

"The antipathy manifested toward the Jew was perpetual and unattended by violent demonstrations, while repugnance to the Chilean and Chinaman broke out into occasional bloody encounters. In this inspiring of dislike they excelled all other people; though they did not seem to take it greatly to heart, and disliked as evenly and serenely in return. Money was the humanizing bond however; Christian and Jew loved money."[2]

But even among the Americans of Anglo-Saxon origin, there existed a few who had never met a Jew, for example the woman who in her memoirs recalled the year 1854 in Los Angeles, where she first met a Jewish family. She had not known that Jews existed outside the Bible.[3]

But there were the far more numerous people who had been reared with their preconceived opinions concerning Jews and who met them with the same scorn as elsewhere:

"California is no exception to this general rule. But little respect is shown him there; and he is continually jeered by having applied to him such annoying epithets as Christ-killer, ham-hater and anti-pork-eater."[4]

It took a long time to purify the atmosphere from these hostile traditions and for a feeling of an all-embracing community to be universally accepted.

An account of anti-Semitism on the Pacific might well begin with the Spanish sailors in American sea-ports who imported thereto and then to the cities of California the custom of burning Judas Ischarioth in effigie, thus kindling the anti-Jewish sentiments. A report from Los Angeles (1854) shows clearly how well even the Anglo-Americans enjoyed the spectacle, the firing squad which executed Judas in the Plazza composed entirely of Americans under the command of Captain W. W. Twist of Santa Barbara.[5]

The pleasures of the Latin—and Anglo-Americans could be-

come a most serious affair for the Irish as late as 1879 when in San Francisco Salmi Morse staged his passion play in the Grand Opera House and Jews were assaulted on the streets. Following a court injunction the play had to be withdrawn.[6]

The sentiments of suspicion and hostility toward strangers was made apparent in Los Angeles in an incident which may be considered significant as it showed the residues of prejudices that remained even after Jews and Christians had joined into one common family:

> "An interesting event took place here three weeks ago. One of our coreligionists who is married to a Catholic Spaniard who had retained her faith, became father to a son, whom he, in accordance to our fathers' religion, wanted to have circumcised. The wife's relatives employed all means to have the permit refused. When the ceremony actually took place—it was performed by the Rev. Edelman—all relatives rushed into the room to prevent by force the act, yet were prevented from doing so by the wife, who publicly stated that she consented to the circumcison. The ceremony —the child was already six months old—progressed without further incident."[7]

In the mining region, where the "foreigner" had to face all kinds of annoyances, disrespect for the Jews was demonstrated often in proceedings before the miner courts, as well as in the lightheartedness with which desperados played with the life of many a Jew.

The case of the murder and robbery of a Jewish shop-keeper in Eureka as reported in 1853 concerning the owner of a "Clothing and Shoe store" was even more serious.[8]

Some miner's court abused its jurisdiction and authority to scorn the Jews even in a case when one Jew sought its aid against another Jew:

> "Administration of Law.
>
> Another instance illustrative to the times, was a trial between two Jews at Carson's Creek. These two sons of Israel had carried on a shop in partnership, and had realized a fortune, but in their settlement, there were twenty-two hundred dollars in dispute between them, and it was given to the Alcade for settlement, and he referred it to the decision of a jury. The miners knew that the *men* had realized their *pile* from the labor of others, and were determined that the litigants should at least pay for all the *law* they received. The first jury disagreed—another was called—that

> also could not decide; a third was made up, which came to an agreement, to the effect that the expenses of the whole trial would first be paid, and then the remainder equally divided between the two Jews. The bar—not of the court, but of the rum-mill attached —had been thronged during the day, which bill, of course was to be paid by the disputants. The bill of costs was soon made up, and amounted to *eighteen hundred dollars*. This the Jews refused to pay, but the verdict of the jury and the money were both in the hands of the Alcade, and he informed them that his oath of office compelled him to execute the Jury's decision; he therefore paid from their bag the cost, and equally divided between them the remainder. They did not "go their way rejoicing", but went off swearing a string of Hebrew curses which portended not good to the law-givers."[9]

Even in later times the slandering of Jews in a court-room was not infrequent.[10]

However, people more quickly succeeded in curbing the prejudices against other groups on the Pacific than in other parts of the Union. Actually, in the memoirs of some old-timers it appeared as if such prejudices had never existed.

Nevertheless, the transition to a more tolerant atmosphere did last long enough to allow John Chinaman to learn the verses regarding the Jews as "Christ-killers":

> "John is not a humorist, but is occasionally given to sharp sayings and biting repartees. One day he was twitted about his beathen practices and proclivities by a Jew. John retorted: You worse than Chinaman, you kill Melican man's Joss."[11]

The meeting of so many nationalities with the variety of traditions and customs of social intercourse caused much restraint in the inter-group relations. Social life was carried on rather in circles one was accustomed too than in new farther-reaching groupings. After that stage had been overcome, a new and freer society developed on all social strata, particularly on the highest levels. New organizations were formed which were based on the active participation of all citizens. But in most cases the old forces were strong enough to preserve the old groupings in some form, while giving them the impetus to engage in broader and wider communal work. Thus, the Pacific Jews were integrated into the new society, participating vigorously in all functions of social life, as well as holding a leading role in the spheres and groups they

were used to due to their European background,—particularly the German one.

Some Jewish intellectuals continued their special relations to German pioneers even after having settled on the Pacific. Thus, a Dr. Regensburger of San Francisco was still considered a member of the German Pioneer Association in Cincinnati.[12]

The German press of San Francisco definitely endeavored to satisfy the needs of the Jews, too:

> "A. J. Lafontain's . . . Printing Shop . . . 267 Merchant Street, San Francisco . . . This printer is equipped with a large assortment of Hebrew printing stock and can satisfactorily fill all demands."[13]

Just as the general press contained notices on the Jewish High Holy-Days we find religious announcements in the German language press:

> "Apollo Bath House, 687 Market Street . . .
> Recommending Baths for Israelites, strictly observing all religious prescriptions.
> Three tickets . . . $1.00".[14]

The French Jews had their opportunities in social activities. The appearance of the actress Sarah Bernhardt on the Pacific was a major event, and Mr. Thiers was presented with a California Album. The gentleman submitting it in person was "M. Alexandre Weill (de la maison Lazard Fréres)".[15]

Social affairs to assist in French relief efforts tied all French Jews more closely together. When in 1875 a benefit performance was staged in San Francisco for the cause of aiding flood victims in Central France the Jewish colony took a leading part in it.[16]

An increased acceptance of the Jews was much helped by outstanding Jewish individuals who were taken as symbols of success or at least of a common experience. Above all it was Adolf Sutro who stood for practically everything that could be linked with the concept of success.

The amazing accomplishments of that giant who had to defy so much hostility are living symbols of individual achievements in California and were acknowledged as such by his contemporaries. On the other side, the tragic downfall of an individual created impressions that caused a wave of sympathy, because everybody felt that destiny could take its course both up or down. Such a

symbol of California was "Emperor Norton". He demonstrated to his fellow-men great aspirations and the instability of human fortune:

> ". . . we retired to dream of the Emperor Norton, and the vanity of all human greatness."[17]

The phenomenon that such a man with so unique a fate had settled in its midst was a characteristic of Californian society:

> "Some of the merchant Jews contribute to his support, and he is much better cared for than many who labor hard every day for livelyhood."[18]

Some others recorded merely a "first", mainly when there were pleasures on the dinner table to be offered or enjoyed; so "grain-King" Isaac Friedlander.[19]

The first theatre advertisement in the *Alta California* of September 20, 1849, was inserted for the "American Theatre", to be erected by Messrs. H. Adler and M. Chapelle.[20]

The stage careers of the East found their parallels on the Pacific.

The actor M. B. Curtis who had made a fortune acting in Sam'l of Posen," gave this name to his property in Fresno County.[21]

Thus, theater history was made in California. Californian historiography had its dramatic figure of its own. This was Albert Goldschmidt, a linguist of great ability, who joined with Hubert Howe Bancroft in publishing data on the Pacific. He was a German Jew, son of a clothing dealer at Hamburg.[22]

Colorful and shining personalities were to be found in all fields of human activity. A search through Bradley and Rulofson's *Celebrity Catalogue*[23] lists the leading individuals in all fields of life. It is easy to pick out the Jews. Some of them aroused particular Jewish interest all over the world:

> "San Francisco . . . Commander Samuels . . . won the price in the recently held competition of a race across the ocean . . . he was a Jew . . . born in Philadelphia."[24]

The case of Phil Jacoby was outstanding in many respects. This publisher of the *Hebrew* and at the same time world champion sharpshooter, was considered with irony by many of his co-religionists:

"Let no one say that we American Israelites are not progressive. In the gold country, in San Francisco, an English weekly is published, *The Hebrew*. It displays on its mast-head a motto borrowed from the Hebrew prayer-book. It is allegedly both orthodox and pro-reform, but rather religious. That Jewish religious organ on March 30, 1866, takes pains to relate as follows: 'Results of the weekly rifle shooting contest at the San Francisco rifle shooting club at the Odeum, Sunday, March 25, 1866.' They carefully report the number of shots and hits. Jewry is well represented by Mr. Phil Jacoby, the publisher of the mentioned Jewish-religious organ with the prayerbook motto. He made the second best hit and thus saved the honor of Judaism. Nobody should claim any longer that we could not stand the smell of gun-powder. Progress can't be halted any longer. It will not take much longer and our periodicals will be filled by news on the bowling alleys, the billiard tables, the chess clubs and all those other humanizing establishments. The editors of the Jewish religious organs will continue to save the honor of the Hebrews there. Everybody should be told that it was Mr. Phil Jacoby of San Francisco that at that contest had to shoot from a distance of 300 feet free-handed, and he hit in the center 28 times out of 82 shots! Bravo! Bravissimo! Hail, Mr. Phil Jacoby... If a community or a school should be in need of an excellent rifle-shooter, we would be anxious to recommend Mr. Phil Jacoby most earnestly. Nothing can excel such progress."[25]

The biography of the Jewish editor would remain incomplete if we were failing to mention that out of sheer modesty he exhibited only one third of all the medals he had won during parades,—this being all he could place on his chest.[26]

Even less shining figures could symbolize a piece of history, as shown by the volunteer in the Mexican War of 1846:

"Death of a Jewish Policeman . . . Bernard Samuel Blitz . . . After the war he came to California and soon after was appointed on the police force . . ."[27]

Links to the great society and the recognition in it were in a position to create that atmosphere which certain circles of Californian Jewry needed to live freely. At times it was even the visit of a prominent notable, like Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, who was the first ruling monarch to visit the United States, and who came to San Francisco in April 1876. He was shown ancient scrolls at Synagogue Emanu-El and surprised onlookers by translating their Hebrew text.[28]

The fashions were some times dictated by Jews, as e.g., when

Ada Isaac Menken exhibited her skill as an actress in February 1864. She did so in February 1864 riding on horse-back and attracted the utmost public interest.[29] Around the end of that period snobs arose to impose their standards on the Pacific and occasionally a Jew posed as an *arbiter elegantiarum,* offering an easy target for his contemporaries' scorn:

> "Mr. Greenway declared there were only 400 persons in San Francisco who were fit to go into good society . . ."[30]
>
> "I believe that he is about to hand down from the clock tower of the Parvenu Advertising Agency a new set of commandments, to take the place of the old reliable ten that Moses broke.
>
> Some fine morning the new rules for the government of the morals of the Parvenucracy will appear in all the papers controlled by Mr. Huntington . . ."[31]

Much of that which Californian society considered entertainment was copied by the Jews; actually, card playing developed into a vice, causing embarrassement to all Jewish communities in America, in California even more than elsewhere:

> " . . . I have spoken to you before in regard to the practice of poker-playing which is indulged in by the greater portion of our people in this city; but the contagion has now reached the women and the malady is threatening to uproot society from centre to circumference. It was a foregone conclusion that the women, left to themselves night by night, are going with their husbands where nothing but cards were discussed, would as naturally fall into the habits of their lords . . . Nearly every house in this city is the rendez-vous of gamblers of both sexes, and even young girls, scarce out of their teens poker away either at the same table with their mothers, or are locked in their bed-rooms, with their boon companions betting away at a fearful rate. I can not call this proceeding by the wild terms of 'passing away the time' as there is too much money in it, and too much of heart burning as the chips or coins pass from one hand to the other.
>
> Only the other evening one lady,—all females who wear diamonds and who play a dollar limit game are ladies—lost $385, at one sitting in poker, and yet her husband has only failed once, and settled for twenty-five cents on the dollar. Women whom I have taken to task for thus running riot with themselves blandly remark, that it is done everywhere; that in New York, Cincinnati, Chicago and other large cities the ladies find poker-playing the only amusement compatible with their mode of life, and that they consider it a harmless amusement."[32]

It was as difficult in California as elsewhere to find a remedy. That vice was a formidable threat to Jewish communal life;—if anything it was even more serious in this State than in other parts of the Union:

> "And then are our ministers responsible for not alluding to this great vice, fearing no doubt that as the richest members of their congregations are the heaviest gamblers, they would incur the displeasure of their influential patrons by denouncing a practice which sooner or later, will create such a chaos in family circles, the like of which has not been known in modern history . . ."[33]

A common social consciousness emerged from the feeling that the good forces were effective within the Jewish community; they found it worthwhile to associate with those groupings:

> ". . . American Theatre . . . in San Francisco . . . The occasion was the benefit of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, a very worthy and respectable charity . . . The dress circle was crowded with the fair daughters of Zion . . . gallery, that paradise of miners and minors, . . ."[34]

And we have a description filled with intense sympathy depicting well the contentment felt after a day filled with work:

> "I, murmuring a kind *ajew,* retired to my virtuous bed, perfectly satisfied, as I presume did the Hebrew Benevolent Society generally as their receipts must have been between three and four thousand dollars, with which I hope they will do as much good as I should, if I had."[35]

There lived in California people prepared to perform deeds in honor of Jews, motivated by respect for these neighbors; e.g., in San Jose: "An association composed mainly of non-Jews was willing to contribute 2000 francs to the building-fund for a new synagogue."[36]

Toward the end of the period under discussion the Californian pioneers had been molded into one uniform class. The Constitution of 1853 still distinguished between two classes of the population, and the day which was the watermark between them was January 1, 1849. Jews who had arrived after that day—and actually that was the over-whelming majority—were considered second class pioneers. [37]

The solidarity among the pioneers led to the removal of that barrier. Everybody who had arrived prior to October 1, 1850

could become a fully privileged member of the community. Very many Jews fell into that category and they and their descendants enjoyed full rights in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution.[38]

Noteworthy among the many organizations in the framework of which the Jews joined the other Californian citizens to work for the public good, was the "California Immigrant Union".[39]

Maybe that it was a symbol of the harmonious relationship soon reached between the various components of the population of California with their different backgrounds that St. Patricks Day led to bloody incidents in New York and other cities, while it was observed in peace and with demonstrations of friendship among the different nationalities in San Francisco.

Therefore it was considered a sharp contrast when the Jewish press published a New York report on the riots with the Orangemen and added this word of caution:

> "Could not our Jewish emigrants leave there battle of the Bayne in the old country, and not try to desecrate the virgin soil of Columbia with the blood of religious persecution?"[40]

There was no need to utter such words of warning in California. Many a social barrier had been removed here before they fell elsewhere in the Union.

CHAPTER 7

PARTICIPATION OF THE JEWS IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF CALIFORNIA

In those formative years it was true in California as well as in all of America that the Jews were so absorbed in their economic adjustment that they paid little or no heed to politics. That was expressed by a correspondent in the fifties. And words uttered in regard to the East were no less true in regard to politics if one substituted "Sacramento" for "Albany":

> "Comparatively few adherents of the Jewish faith have attained legislative honors . . . As a rule, although taking great interest in politics, the Jews do not allow their ambition to stand in the way

of their business, and they know that there is nothing to be made in going to Albany . . ."[1]

Even at a later date when the Jews had fully adjusted to the new State and it was generally admitted that they played an important role in the general life of California, it was always stressed that there were but few "politicians" among them:

> "Few of them have any political aspirations, and it is a rare occurance to find them occupying any official position, either municipal or State. Yet they take a lively interest in politics, and seem to hold as decided opinions regarding political issues as the ordinary American born citizen."[2]

Up to 1860 national affairs found practically no attention in California. That young State had rather to concentrate all political activity on putting its own house in order; in 1856 the Second Vigilance Committee had absorbed the full interest of the citizenry. Yet, around 1860 the political party lines of division did reach the new State and did so with full vehemence. At that time, when the Democratic Party was split by internal dissension which was reflected in California, the Republicans were victorious there, too. This was a fact though the sympathies for the South were strong in California, so much so that there was a threat of the State's secession, most acute for some time, and sympathizers for the South remained active even during the War.

During the fifties Jews participated actively not only in the Second Vigilance Committee but in local elections and election committees in small towns, too. There alignments were naturally always with the forces opposing the nativists. In 1857, Joseph Blumenthal endorsed a candidate for Governor and did so in behalf of the Democratic County Convention at Mariposa.[3]

L. Strauss of San Diego was candidate for coroner in 1853.[4]

Due to the well-known loyalty of Judge Salomon Heydenfeldt for David Broderick many Jews decided to cast their votes for the Democratic Party. That fact may have not become fully felt before the critical election of 1864 when the program of the Democrats aiming at the restoration of peace obviously attracted many of the Jews.

> "In politics the Jews have all cause to be satisfied with the institutions of America. They enjoy the utmost of freedom to be active as they might desire. They don't worry too much about

political theories, but become very active when one of them is a candidate for office. This could often be observed at San Francisco. At the recent presidential elections most of them voted with the Irish for McClellan, while, on the basis of their bitter personal experiences, they should have lined up against slavery. It appears they were more concerned about the notation of the paper money than the cause of the Union."[5]

Thus cheap generalizations and identification of the Jews with the moneyed interests tended to becloud the truth that early in 1864 the expected victory of the Union had not materialized, that there was a rational yearning for peace effective all over the country, and finally that among the Californian sympathizers of the South who in part had come from there, Jwes were to be found. Wherever one could it was tried to accuse the Jews of pro-Southern sympathies; every little incident was exploited, as the following story shows in regard to the steamer, "St. Louis" which around the Civil War cruised before Panama in the Pacific:

"At both other tables there dines a number of prosperous Israelite merchants, most of them with their wives and children, who failed to comprehend that they had not been admitted to the head table. The eternal chatting, whispering and intriguing was never-ending. 'Oh, how I would like the 'Alabama' to come and capture this old box!' one of the sons of Abraham said—but, how terrified he was when his brave speech was interrupted by the thunder-like voice of the Captain who shouted 'God dam ye' and threatened, 'another word and you'll be locked up!'. The noble man had no idea that the captain was standing behind him and listened to every word of his."[6]

There is added a gleeful description of the panic on board caused by the fear of Southern boats.

In California local election lists of candidates were drafted by the political machines and they paid much attention to the nationality of the citizens, as was the case in the cities of the North and the East of the Union. A candidate in Los Angeles found it useful in 1869 to emphasize that he was close to the Germans and the Jews:

"To the German-American Citizens of Los Angeles . . .

Leading Germans of this city know well that I have ever expressed myself as a friend of the German people, and have welcomed them to our shores. Among them and the Jews in this city I have made many intimate acquaintances, and have found

many valued friends; and I would lose a thousand elections to office before I could consent that this friendship should cease.
T. Harrison Rose."[7]

That year a California Jewish paper reported from Los Angeles:

"Our co-religionists live here in considerable numbers and are rather prominent. Some of them are members of the City Council."[8]

Another paper reported:

"It is this Mr. Morris who formerly lived at San Francisco, who is a member of the local City Council and who owns a model farm about one hour from here."[9]

The frequent accusation that it was the Irish who obtained an unduly large share of public offices was reiterated by nativist elements in California:

"Kearney Constitution.
. . . when the millenium dawns the offices shall be divided equally between the Irish and the Dutch, but the Irish must have the biggest half! . . ."[10]

Yet the unique feature on this fight for distribution of power among the nationalities was that there existed a scape-goat for all on the Pacific: This was the Chinese element which all people wanted to exclude and which was the target of all fights usually centered on the foreigners who were virtually forgotten on the Pacific.

A semi-official statement by the Chinese population branded the Irish as the most anti-Chinese element of the population and resignedly concluded:

". . . nearly every one of them is an Irishman . . ."[11]

Yet the prejudice was more deep seated than the surface with its militant Irishmen revealed; the whole Californian population was victim to that bias and Adolf Sutro even prided himself by frankly stating:

"I can say one thing, that among all the thousands that I have employed during my life in California, I have never employed a Chinaman, and I am one of the few in this State they have not. I will bet that you can't name another man that has employed as many men as I have—(some thirteen or fourteen thousand) at a time—that has not employed a Chinaman. I am opposed to the

Chinese on the political grounds of the future . . . The very worst emigrants from Europe are a hundred times more desirable than these Asiatics."[12]

Basically, this remark was aimed at Huntington, who gave strong support to the anti-Chinese policy of the Nativists, but did not hesitate to employ Chinese as laborers whenever a critical point in the construction of the rail-roads was reached. The painful impression was created that the Jews as a group had to gain from the anti-Chinese conflict. A song created by some was spread all over America:

"America's Royal Ball.
. . . Kearney cried out, 'Me bowl is filled,
When all the Chineeman are killed';
'Amen to that', says Fagan the Jew,
They'd make the best of Irish stew';
'Enough of that', says Fagan the Jew,
When in his eyes an oyster flew' "[13]

It seemed obvious that one had to hit the Jews when one discussed the Irish-Chinese controversy.[14]

In the late fifties the nativist sentiments declined nationally and interest began to concentrate on the slavery question; in California the nativist voices which had expressed so much hostility when the Jews participated in the second Vigilants Committee in 1856 were less frequently heard. It is remarkable that then attempts were made to lure the Jewish vote away from the Democratic Party. This took place in the well-known incident when a discussion took place with Switzerland in regard to their discriminatory treatment of the Jews and the Convention between both states:

"Democratic Proscription of the Jews.

"The organs and leaders of the 'great Democratic party', including its ex-President and his Cabinet-advisers, and President Buchanan and his Secretaries, have been unsparing in their denunciations and abuse of the American party on account of its alleged proscriptiveness and 'invidious distinction' between the classes of our citizens. Now, it well appear very singular to the people of this country that all this time the last and the present Democratic administrations have been perpetrating and have actually committed a greater outrage in this respect than has ever been attributed to the American party. They have proscribed the whole

> Jewish portion of our citizens, and excluded them from the enjoyment of privileges accorded to all other classes of citizens. Even the most ultra of the Americans accord to every man the right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without any diminution of his political rights on that account, but these intensely Democratic administrations have made an 'invidious distinction' between the Israelites and the rest of our population and assisted in excluding them from rights which the rest of our citizens may excercise."[15]

The paper went on to report on the Trade Agreement with Switzerland and continued:

> "This treaty is deeply disgraceful to our Government. It is unjust and proscriptive, and it is a burning shame to the Buchanan administration that it should be suffered to continue in force. It has been allowed to go into force by that Democratic Senate of whose faithful guardianship of the rights of the whole people the Democratic organs and speakers have so loudly boasted, but it had not escaped the jealous watchfulness of the people themselves. Our Jewish citizens may thank the Democracy for this proscription of them, but, from the utter indifference with which their applications for relief have been treated by the great procrastinator Gen. Cass, it is very probable that they will have to 'grin and to bear it' until a change of Administration."[16]

Again, twelve years later in the first election campaign after the Civil War, the Democratic Party tried to exploit U.S. Grant's Order No. XI. This was well noted on the Pacific:

> "The Jewish press of the North is, of course, intensely Democratic."[17]

The Jewry of California itself on a forespot in the wide world populated by Jews, never felt isolated from the fate of Jews everywhere on the globe. Discrimination, persecution, religious prejudice, wherever they were practiced against their brothers, aroused their passionate sympathy. The Mortara Case was publicly discussed on the Pacific. The Jewish press of California was entirely absorbed by it. In a single issue of one paper the first two pages were entirely occupied by the story. A third page quoted further incidents of involuntary baptisms, and finally an additional article "Forcible Baptism" related the story of such an act at Saint Louis, stressing the very same danger existing elsewhere in America, too.

"A Hebrew whose name is Karten, was employed by another named Buckley, a Catholic and while in his employ was taken sick. He was baptized while in the hospital. After he had died, the Jews requested the corpse from the Catholic church authorities to bury it in their cemetery. This created a conflict and only through the assistance of the major did they get it."[18]

A mass meeting on the Mortara Case was held in San Francisco on January 15, 1859, having been called by the Presidents of the most important Jewish organizations, Emanu-El, Sherith Israel, Eureka, First Hebrew Benevolent Society and B'nai B'rith.[19]

The Californian Jews retained a keen sense of attention for such incidents and their press later related similar events, as that of the kidnapped boy Coen, who had been the victim of an involuntary baptism.[20]

As the public attention was concentrated on America, the *Hebrew* of 1871 wrote:

"Virginia City.—

The B'nai B'rith Society of Virginia, we understand, are considerable exercised about a local Mortara case recently developing in that city. As related to us, a man and wife—Israelites—separated in Sacramento, California some years since, the wife and mother taking charge of a young daughter of the couple. The mother removed to this State and placed the child in the Nevada Orphan Asylum, under the charge of the Sisters of Charity at Virginia City. Subsequently the mother died, and recently the father learned the whereabouts of his daughter, now about fourteen years of age, and made application at the Asylum for her release. The Sisters of Charity very properly declined giving the little girl into the custody of a stranger until he should first establish his identity as her father. This, we are informed, he did by the testimony of the Chief of Police, and one or two well known Jewish Citizens of Virginia; but the little girl herself preferring to remain with the Sisters, they refused to give her up until compelled by law. To defray the expenses of a process of law, we are informed, the B'nai B'rith Society of Virginia has already appropriated $10, and the matter will probably come before the Courts in a few days."[21]

Domestic vigilance resulted from the alarming news from abroad. The price was never too high. The life of the new society progressed in the new land and the Jews continued to adjust themselves to it.

CHAPTER 8

SOCIETY LIFE AND CULTURE AMONG THE JEWS IN CALIFORNIA

Even the very earliest reports on social life in the cities of California describe the country as a social paradise for the Jews:

> The family residences are separate from the store locations, as a rule outside of the business centers. In comparison with those of Germany they are much larger and they are better furnished; on the whole life is more pleasant, there is a very active social life, almost daily we have theater performances, balls and concerts. The wifes are not involved in the running of the business; the store owners make deliveries of the purchased merchandise directly to the homes. In short, the ladies lives are most pleasant, indeed."[1]

In the pioneering years we are told some facts of mature social civilization shared by the Jews of California. Thus, the violinist Miska Hauser related on his tour to San Francisco that he founded a 'musikverein' there. President of the 'verein' was Mr. Davidson, the director of the local branch of the 'House' of Rothschild.[2]

In isolated instances we find tendencies in the social life reminiscent of the salons on the Atlantic or on the position of August Belmont as an *arbiter elegantiarum.* Thus, *Isak Friedlaender,* the "grain King" was simultaneously:

"Judge and umpire in all disputes and in all sorts of games. He was our 'Philador' on games; no one disputed his decisions."[3]

The famous dinners in his house afforded to his wife a position as a center of a salon, though not one of literary importance.[4]

Friedlaender "represented a fine type of Israelite. He was one of the Californian pioneers."[5]

Thus, pioneer spirit and material success merged in the saga of the Californian society affording to a German Jew the highest spot on the social ladder.

It soon became apparent that the spirit and mood of Jewish society were determined not by those few outstanding men on the top, but rather by the masses, not last the late arrivals. Those masses continued for decades to be the subject for critical reporters,

masses that exhibited both social virtues and inadequacies. The social critic did not concern himself so much with those who were still in the process of trying to adjust themselves economically or culturally to their new home,—but he did concentrate on those who had already socially "arrived," and whose success secured for them a certain position within California's society, thus forming a class of itself.

The following writer formulated the demands to be made of the "new class." The comparison with reality resulted in rather solemn comments on the discrepancies:

> "The numerical increase of the masses had a negative effect as far as their inner strength is concerned. That fact as well as a more thorough knowledge of the tribes milling around has definitely lowered the ideal picture of the Jews.
>
> Social contacts with the Christian citizens is generally very limited. Very rarely one finds Jews in Christian Houses or Christians in Jewish homes. Only those families who consider themselves above the common men and therefore refuse to join their societies and associations, are more closely allied to the Christian than the Jewish families."[6]

Even before critical issues were raised in those social pictures, the immense mixture of all social, religious, economic and political conditions in the new Californian community had been praised as the genuine American miracle and it was emphasized that the Jews were not yet holding a balanced position within that total picture. We quote the following correspondent's report, showing that he was as confused and bewildered by it as the Jewish mass he described:

> "San Francisco, May. Dear Editor, much time has elapsed since I wrote you last. The reason is that people in America only seldom can freely dispose of their time or even of themselves. I feel as if one were immersed in a narcoticizing twirling stream, wherein one is pushed and pulled and seldom regains consciousness, to contemplate calmly and to have a moment for self-reflection. No doubt, this is far more true in California than anywhere else. A year accomplishes in this land what takes decades in other areas:—generations come and go. In a very short space of time the external and internal state of affairs underwent changes. You may well apply this statement both to families, politics, and religion. Everything undergoes changes with amazing rapidity. Today swims the fellow who was still sticking in the mud yesterday; the one still sailing on the high seas, may suddenly find himself thrown back

to the shore unexpectedly. This is the actual situation in California! Our co-religionists enjoy living conditions here as pleasant as those enjoyed by a tree near a fresh spring. Respected as they are by the world in general, as diligent and honorable citizens—it is high time for them to respect themselves, at last. But,—those magnificent synagogues equipped with awe-inspiring organs and choirs—they all stand appallingly empty. Their schools are neglected and hardly continue to exist. Thus, old as well as young people live without religious inspiration. Thousands of dollars are wasted without accomplishing anything but obtaining an office for a useless relative and making the community footing the bill. Unfortunately, the votes are counted not weighted, and this produces ridiculous and absurd conditions. Recently, Passover was celebrated as usual. Four weeks before the festival the houses were turned all over by our dear ladies. On the first Seder evening the Hagadah was read without rhyme or sense. Next day was steamer day. But you, dear people beyond the Pacific, don't know what Steamer Day does mean. Every four weeks the same misery repeats itself that people face the necessity to have to ship thousands of dollars away and do not even know where to secure but a third of the required sums. That should be a condition of the Messianic age—that there should be no further debt and Steamer Days. If that could be realized then even our most hard-hearted and indifferent captains of industry would become thrilled by the tenets of Judaism. For curiosity's sake I want to mention a trifle which throws an interesting side-light on our times. Recently when a political holiday was observed, an occasion at which the Governor appeals to all good Christians to praise the Lord, a big parade was staged in one of our congregations, too. After our Reverend with his big mustache had orated endless Thillim chapters before a yawning audience, he mounted the pulpit like a Parisian man of the world. From there at last he spoke in an English murdered many thousand times over. Lamentations understood by nobody in their Elsassian vernacular sounded litterally like this:

"Ve shus are no langer a beble nar ave ve some langer an istary pad anyvere is our house and our demble is se natur, etc."

(We Jews are no longer a people, not have we any longer a history, but anywhere is our home, and our temple is the nature).

That is actually how our eloquence on the pulpit sounded.[7]

It developed that soon all religious controversy and criticism was eliminated. The economic adjustment of the masses was considered an accomplished fact and again was no longer much discussed. The major issue was the social situation, sometimes with economic factors involved, but never decisively. The responsibility which emerged from the new position of the consolidated Jewish

merchants' group which actually formed the very backbone of the community,—responsibilities whose fulfillment were to be decisive for the future of the Jewry of California—were now accentuated:

> "San Francisco, October 28, 1872.
>
> As our Jewish merchants make up, in a large proportion the business class of the Pacific coast, and in order to maintain their standing in future years, they should endeavour to train the rising generation to a love of science, art, and industry, which at present are given but little thought. As it is, the youth is placed in the father's warehouse to sell clothing and kuddle muddle; this is the extent of education imparted to the child, whereas all avenues of higher tastes and talents are left uncultured, and only replaced by the undying lust of *Wocher* and *Schocher*.
>
> This is but too true a picture; and verily none the better in this blessed free country wherever the chosen people reside. This is no dark age like they left behind him in the old country, where they were necessitated for their sustenance to traffic in every conceivable manner; and the majority of them should rise and elevate their race in this their promised land to the highest pitch of civilization, by contributing liberally their influence in all public questions, political and otherwise, that their claim in future years as aspirants to high office within the gift of the nation may be respected, and the number thereof to hold office, swell, which, it must be confessed, has heretofore been limited.
>
> As in your Eastern cities, so here; all clubs of private character among our co-religionists are of such a nature as to be of little credit to them; the magnet is the card, and only cards, whereas all literary pursuits are set at naught and, strange to say, several attempts to uphold a purely literary and debating association proved fruitless. I am unaware of a single literary club in this town among our co-religionists. Can it be different when you behold the employer meeting his employee face to face at the club, and together joining in a Game of Cards? I have rarely observed such games as chess indulged in by them, and the only relief for such members as do not play cards, is to look at the four walls and perhaps read the papers. Libraries in such clubs are rarities."[8]

In addition to all this the great days of the San Francisco stock exchange fever resulting from the mining speculation centered in Nevada were apt to change the appearance of the city and to engulf the Jews, too:

> ". . . In the early days of California we were wont to go beyond the city limits to witness a bull and a bear fight, which was conducted according to the rules in such cases provided in old Spain. To-day our bulls and bears give exhibitions at all hours, in our

most public thoroughfares, and though our citizens get gored and bruized, they are so enchanted with the strange performance that, bleeding and battered, they will stand and gaze at a spectacle which is denounced as cruel by all humanitarians."[9]

In the long run, however, around the end of the period, it was society life with all its follies and inadequacies which occupied the reporters' phantasies. They concentrated virtually exclusively on the forms and manifestations of social intercourse, the average man's aspirations, the new exclusiveness that was more often than not coupled with new vulgarity, as well the inexhaustible subject of snobbism and the misfit children of the rich. The ideas and thoughts of the social critic were reflected that way, often reflecting likewise objective states of affairs, that were not overlooked by the critics without comments.

Above all the Society Pages were critically scrutinized:

". . . Drop it.

Is it not about time that our Hebrew papers change their Jenkinsisms and stop filling their columns with the names of the Sprinzes, the Guendels and the Zurelis who have gone either to the springs or the seashore? What do we care whether Miss Feide or Mrs. Gretel is on a visit to Shloime Shlabber in Indianapolis, or that Mr. Shapse Sheigetz has gone to Cleveland, ostensibly to recuperate, but really to drum up customers? Column after column is devoted weekly in our Jewish papers to just such nonsense as this, and I am getting unwell of the nasty stuff. If Chayeh Zureh leaves town you may just bet a big American dollar that every one of her relatives and friends know it, and strangers certainly take no stock in the movements of either men and women whom they do not know.

Hence I would remind our Jewish papers who have not much space to spare to eschew that sort of small paragraphing, as it is neither healthy nor interesting to the general reader."[10]

As a matter of fact the critic had well chosen a sore spot which gave a negative distinction to the Jewish press of California in comparison to the American Jewish press in general.

The next subject to be commented on critically was snobbism. The critic discussed the "Arrived Ones" who started out as peddlers and had later, as owners of big stores affixed posters proclaiming "No peddlers wanted."[11]

Snobbism, the critics relate, reaches its most elated heights among the ladies. Domestic servants were allegedly treated with

arrogance—with the inevitable slur on the universal scapegoat, the Chinese:

> "It galls me to see women, who are pigs in the parlor and peacocks on the promenade, ordering servant girls about as though they were worse than Chinamen."[12]

A tragi-comical climax is reached indeed when the wives of the "arrived ones" returned to their home-towns to harvest triumphs:

> "Mit solche Laat haben wir kein Pisness . . ."
>
> Some six months ago a lady resident of this city was sent by her husband to her native town in Schwersenz, Prussia, to visit the scene of her childhood and have a good time generally. The lady, whose husband does a very fair business and is able to give poker parties at least once a month, reached Europe with a plethoric purse and lots of fine dresses and a miniature pawnshop of jewelry . . . After showing her fine dresses and jewelry to all Schwersenz, and strutting about like a peacock in the highways and byways, without recognizing the women who used to work in the same kitchen with her, she kept her room and courted the Moses.
>
> An old gentleman of the town, who for both learning and piety, stands very high in that community, called upon this upstart one fine day to inquire after his two sons who live in this city and who are well and favorably known, and in order that your readers may understand how this Jewish Bridget received the patriarch, while stretched out at full length on her sofa, in her father's house, dressed as though ready for a grand ball, I will give a short extract from a letter which was sent by the caller to one of his sons about whom he went to inquire: Said Mrs.—without rising or asking the patriarch to take a seat: 'Ich kenn Ihr Soehn nicht, mit solche Laat haben wir kein pisness . . . ('I do not know your sons, we don't deal with such people')"[13]

The uncivilized exhibition of wealth by some Jewish women was apt to induce satirical comments by the Gentiles. Jewish ladies with taste saw such danger well and deplored it:

> "And our highly-educated, cultured Jewesses, who have not been suddenly raised from the cellar to the parlor, they feel the insult heaped upon their ill-bred sisters most keenly, for we all have to suffer for the shortcomings of but one individual."[14]

The establishment of this class of *Nouveaux Rich,* who had failed to sense the social and cultural obligations of wealth and the relationship between Jews and Gentiles were pictured in dark

tones around the end of our period. It was predicted that a certain ostracism would be maintained as the characteristic of a generation:

> ". . . Our people, as a class, have not yet learned to assimilate, to visit the houses of their Christian neighbors and feel at home. This state of affairs will, I am sorry to say, exist for another generation, and for that length of time there will be a quiet, underground ostracism, which will, as a matter of course, affect the minority in a larger degree.
>
> There are magnates, e.g., moneyed moguls among Jews, but they rarely invite Christians to their parties, unless they are wedding-parties, and then only when they are customers. The consequence is that the Christians ignore our wealthy Jews, most of whom, I am sorry to say, have nothing but their bank accounts to recommend them to consideration. When good old Friedlander was alive he was always at the most fashionable reunions given by the *elite* of this city; Mr. Castle, now travelling with his family in Europe, was invariably on the slate; but our pompous pedlers with plethoric purses invite no Christians and the *Goyim* do not feel like having them near them. Last week a grand party was given by Crocker, the great railroad millionaire, and though he made millions out of the Jews, not one of the chosen few was privileged to look over his fence."[15]

Facing such tensions among the Jewish women it appeared most ironical when the proposal was made that newly arriving Jewish girls from Russia should be shipped to San Francisco as domestics:

> "There is room enough for at least five hundreds here, as our Irish and Chinese help are altogether too saucy and overbearing, and we cannot stand it with them."[16]

Notwithstanding the almost complete exclusion of Jews from social intercourse with the Gentiles the celebration of the Christmas holidays was progressing among the Jews of California steadily:

> "Christmas trees are becoming quite fashionable among our Jews . . ."[17]

The young ones advocated that new fashion:

> "Christmas.
> Came and went, and some of our young men and women congratulated each other as heartily as though the event commemorated brought either peace or good will to their ancestors or mankind generally. The Jews made presents and were loth to receive them . . ."[18]

The training of the youth among the rich was considered a complete failure and the description of their social life sounded like a warning to Jewish parents in America:

"Bad business.

The young men are running riot with themselves . . . It is the same old story of fast horses and fast women, who have ruined more men than either railroad or steamboat disasters . . .

There are any number of young men, I am sorry to say, who have their defalcations, shortcomings and pilferings covered up by their parents and relatives who never held the ribbons of fast trotters and who do not know what it is to have a siren eat your oysters and drink your champagne. The boys of our day are all raised gentlemen. Their fathers scorn the idea of making mechanics of them . . . Books have no charm for them; their parents have no books in the house, and so they go from bad to worse until they are finally obliged to flee from the clutches of the law. Poker parties will ever beget sons and daughters who will be no honor to the family."[19]

Of all the Jewish holidays, Purim remained for that youth the only social event celebrated by them in their peculiar style:

". . . And our dudes, who spend their patrimony with a lavish hand, borrow from their mothers and sisters to pay the coachman and never get out of the tailors' clutches, will celebrate *Purim* with the usual eclat, though they have to pawn their *Bar Mitzva* watch, as they would not miss to observe this the only day in the Jewish calendar to keep it holy . . ."[20]

The traditional form of observing Purim—free run for visitors in masques—created difficulties for their hosts in a city that had given rise to the term "hoodlum". They were described, with special emphasis on those "hoods":

". . . The real *solid* men do not keep open house on Purim. Those who have no company during the year—who have daughters they want to get rid of or furniture they have no other chance to display, publish in the papers that they will *receive* on Purim night. It is becoming fearfully fashionable to convert the Purim into a sort of old-time Knickerbocker New Year, when every loafer in town takes the liberty, with a ten-cent mask as a guise, to enter the houses of those whom he does not know and who would feel highly offended if they did know the 'hoods' who dare to intrude their whiskey-preserved presence on their premises. There are some people who are fond of company, glad to see maskers and spread bountifully laden tables before all who call, but the maskers

are getting too numerous—they are 'too too' and 'too fresh' and many of our new crop are leaving no favorable imprints behind them."[21]

Even the Hebrew Benevolent Societies felt the impact of that new element in their demands to their cash:

"... there is a class of young hoodlums, Jews, who are fond of theatres and buggy rides, but not fond of work, who come with their plausible stories to the presidents, and succeed, in some cases, in getting money which should properly go to the really needy."[22]

But all these extremes served at last the purpose of strengthening the social consciousness of the entire young generation and to train them for the great task yet to be solved by world Jewry; their first task, it is true, was to acknowledge and recognize the social obligations of wealth.

The social critic offered some encouraging samples when, simultaneously, he criticized the excesses of wealth. The heirs of huge fortunes gave huge sums for social purposes though the departed ancestor had not yet made such provisions:

"The rising generation which has not been reared in the garret, and did not start into life with a pack upon their back, have more lofty and more enlarged ideas regarding men and manners, and we safely expect nobler deeds at their hands when their wills will be opened . . ."[23]

CHAPTER 9

THE ORIGIN OF THE JEWS IN CALIFORNIA

During the "Old Immigration" to America the Jews from Germany had come in large numbers, though Jews from Eastern Europe contributed about one third of the total immigration. In all of America these two major groups created their separate parallel communal institutions. Things did not develop in any other manner on the Pacific. As a rule the numerical relationship between them was basically the same—2 : 1.

In most cases, however, the desire for adventure, the urge to enjoy the wide open spaces and the desire to find material goods

was as strong among the Eastern European Jews as among the Germans. Thus, both groups faced each other in the West as in the East, confronted with the same needs for communal organizations and social welfare groups. The Jews of Sephardic background were too small in number on the Pacific to form their own congregations. The numerous French Jews kept close contact with each other and cultivated French civilization, but they did not influence the formation of community groups.

Among the pioneers who advanced to the gold regions or more distant regions, Eastern Jews were to be found as much as German Jews.

In any description of the region the Eastern European Jews could be considered as representatives of the Jewish country merchants as well as any other. Robert Louis Stevenson mentions a Russian Jewish store-keeper in California as his principal adviser.[1]

Outside observers were first struck by the characteristics of each of the two groups:

> "The Jews of California are divided into two main classes, the German Jews and the Polish Jews; as in San Francisco each class has its own synagogue, cemetery, and benevolent society. The German Jews are infected by the progressive spirit of the age, and have adopted a reformed ritual; whereas the Polish Jews adhere to the old forms and ceremonies."[2]

The detailed circumstances and the deepening of the contrasts were particularly recorded by correspondents who showed an interest in German Jews.

More than in any other field the German Jews were close to the cultural life of the Germans in California. Often it was virtually a continuation of their activity in Germany, for example when Jewish virtuosi, like Heinrich Hertz gave a concert in California in 1850 and composed and played a "California Polka" there.[3] The news reports, particularly in Californian Jewish papers, prove that the Jews fully participated in theatrical efforts of the Germans.[4]

Last but not least, mention must be made of the German Turn-Vereins which were strongly attended by Jews. A typical example from a small place like San Bernardino shows that in many cases

the same persons managed those associations as they would have done in a Jewish organization.[5]

The fact that California wines were exported by the Jewish firm of Kohler and Frohling to Germany was noted by the Jewish press of California and is noteworthy, indeed.[6]

Lastly it must be noted that the German Jews changed their names much less frequently than one could have expected in a new and changed world. This is proven by all City and Business Directories and the advertising columns of the California general press.

Statements that it was the German Jews who owned the clothing stores in the mining camps,[7] were, as far as they disregarded the Jews of Eastern European descent, quite superficial. A more thorough study of the City Directories, in which the names and the places of origin were some times mentioned, reveal that there were tailors among the Polish Jews.

The course of life of a Jewish tailor in California is related to us in the following auto-biographical item; the writer had been born in Nakel, Prussia, August 19, 1836:

> "My mothers name was Dora Samuels. My father and mother were both Jews and my wife is a Polish Jew . . . I was apprenticed to a brother in law of mine in the tailoring business, but my mother died, and a brother of mine in St. Louis wrote for me to come out because he thought there was more chance for me in this country; . . . arrived in New York on the fourth of July 1849 . . . another brother of mine who was in Stockton wrote me to come to him and I agreed to go, I started on the steam ship California a very small steamer but it was a very long trip, we had not been able to get a through ticket so we had to wait in Panama for almost a month while those who had through tickets went along. At last I got a ticket from a man who had died, I paid a 100 dollars for it, and arrived here in July 52 going at once to Stockton to my brother who was a merchant tailor. I stayed there some time and then went into partnership with a man named Freeland the two of us buying out my brothers business . . . I had a man in New York who used to manufacture the goods for me and ship them from there.
>
> . . . I am an orthodox Jew and belong to a church on the corner of Post St. . . . what we want is more immigration. I don't mean Chinaman although I think they are a necessary evil."[8]

It is remarkable in this note that at that time, as today, there existed a firm relationship to the manufacturing enterprises in

New York. Clothing needed in California and ordered from California was produced in New York.

Both groups, the German and the Polish Jews, brought all their prejudices, which they had imported from the Old World, from the East to the Pacific. That this attitude persisted in even most serious situations is revealed in the tragi-comical remark of a letter-writer who would rather loose his money in a fire than let it have a *Pollack*.[9]

Even the fires of San Francisco had not put an end to the prejudices in the heart of a German Jew.

Both groups thought so little of the other that even if one was joined in one company that could never be regarded a Congregation. So we learn from a

> "San Francisco Letter . . . Pollack vs Bayer . . . The Pollack is despised by the Bavarian, and the latter is looked upon as a 'Poyatz' by the countrymen of Sobieski; hence they will not pray together . . . though they meet at the festive board and the card table."[10]

CHAPTER 10

THE POLLACK AND THE BAVARIAN IN CALIFORNIA

All over America the two groups, "Pollack" and "Bavarian" were recognized as two hostile camps; they were named after their countries of origin. In California the feelings seem to have been particularly strong; contemporary witnesses relate that the "Bavarian" was most outspoken in his anti-"Pollack" sentiments, while the latter, though not as vehemently verbalizing, took his stand no less strongly.

A close examination of the real conditions as they existed in California reveals that an old European myth is without basis in fact. That legend claimed that the Bavarians who were not outstanding scholars in Jewish affairs eagerly searched for young men of Polish descent whose knowledge of the Talmud was highly appreciated,—that family ties were established that way, and that young couples, uniting the East and the West of Europe, did

emigrate to America. The histories of the families of Bavarian origin in California which we know with many details, their migration saga and their social status within the Jewish community and the development of their congregations, speak a clear and unmistakable language,—utterly different from the just quoted fable. Actually, the basis of the Bavarian group in California was the family group some time enlarged by migrants,—in larger communities a number of families from the same home community. In his career in California the Bavarian was—in all aspects—the "great man", the one who had come from the provincial background of Bavaria and had succeeded in America. His refusal to enter into marriages with the "Pollack" or to share communal institutions with him was considered part and parcel of his peculiarities,—and beyond that mere snobism.

As a community founder and pillar of strength to the Jewish community the Bavarian in California—as anywhere else in America—was envied very much, indeed. The alleged acts of injustice in the administration of communal affairs was resented by the "Pollack" bitterly,—a phenomenon most clearly demonstrated in San Francisco.

The course of development of congregations, the forming of various parties and factions, fights in the appointment of officers and functionaries, and finally the frequent splits appear even in the earliest reports of wellinformed reporters. As a rule they were described as results of the conflict between Pollack and Bavarian.[1]

In conomic respect the tension between the two groups was heightened by the fact that, as a rule, the Bavarian had accumulated much more wealth and acquired more leading positions than the Pollack. The latter elected to interpret this as a desire to suppress him:

> ". . . There is more *Rishus* between the Bavarian and Polish Jews than there is to be found between Russian, Greek and the Russian Jew. The former will not take the life of his Polish co-religionists, but he will ruin him in business, whenever he has a chance . . ."[2]

The Bavarian group was further consolidated by the circumstance that the Jewish migration from Bavaria commenced in full strength just at that time when the Jewry of California con-

solidated itself; thus, the young Jewish generation of migrants formed the model and goal of all later American migration.[3] Even much later the Bavarian in California is accused of hostility toward the Pollacks' migration; at the time when Eastern European migration was identical with aid to Russian Jews, the Bavarian Jew was again accused of participating inadequately in the effort to grant assistance; lists of small contributions were added to ilustrate that theory. One talked of "Bavarian butchers," and their millions quoted—to be contrasted to their insufficiently small donations.[4]

The following reports show how the situation was in 1881, when the mass immigration of Russian Jews commenced:

> "San Francisco.—
> Russian Collection . . .
> . . . Adolph Sutro, worth five millions, gave $100.—Young Rosenberg, nephew of the late Michael Reese, and administrator of his estate, worth one million and a half, gave *five dollars*. Daniel Meyer and Co., brokers, worth in the neighbourhood of eight millions, would not give a cent; one of the brothers tendered a five-dollar piece, but the elder brother said: 'We have enough of Russians and not a cent I will give to import any more of such people to this country!"[5]

To enter into marriage with the "Pollack" was for the "Barian" a step downward on the scale of accepted social value and reputation; for the "Pollack" it was a step in the opposite direction:

> "Another miscarriage.
> If a Pollack has a daughter that is neither pretty nor classical, and has the money to go into the open market with her, he usually secures a German chassan, to the envy of the good-looking Polish girls, whose fathers believe that there are fortunes in faces . . ."[6]

Such a state of affairs—characterized by the "Money Marriage" —became rather frequent at the end of this period when urbanization was accomplished; this was in contrast to the early pioneering stage when a definite dearth of women was noted:

> ". . . it is a purely mercantile transaction, entered into between two business men, who barter away the happiness of their children for so much coin . . . We rarely hear, among the Jews, that a wealthy young man has taken unto himself a worthy, poor young lady as his wife . . ."[7]

The other side gives an even less complicated picture of the giving into marriage of the Bavarian daughters:

> "A Pollack is good enough at dinner after he has bought a heavy bill, and fathers and brothers do not mind giving their daughters and sisters to him in marriage if he is well off or such a crank as to believe that his German wife will give him standing in decent society if he has no standing of his own after banking hours."[8]

The opinions on such "misalliances" were particularly outspoken in one sector of the women's world itself, which was deeply convinced that the choice of a "Pollack" must be averted at any price. Such a lady one wrote:

"That she would as soon marry a Chinaman as a Pollack", which, at this time, meant a lot on the Pacific. Our correspondent relates her misfortune,

> "of uncertain age . . . she is to be married to a genuine Pollack within a few weeks, and there will be cards out."[9]

The undercurrents of such contrasts and conflicts continue to be felt even in far later periods of time and the gossipy chat of such "latter days" add a certain "folksy" tone. Thus, in 1900 an observer of the Emanu-El Congregation in San Francisco wrote:

> ". . . Then some Bayrische members . . . said: 'No Bollack shall ever be our Rebbe nit. God made a Bollack out of mud. A Bollack is the worstest man out of jail . . ."[10]

Or, otherwise in a most non-belligerent and kindly jesting manner:

> "The *Jewish Times* is for sale—and the *Progress* says: 'Wird er nicht kriegen a bayer (buyer), wird er kriegen a Bollack—Auch gut! . . ."[11]

As everywhere in America, one continued to find in California the old "Bavarian", who in language and customs remained as much a popular fellow as his counter-part, the "Pollack",—though the former may have "Americanized" faster than the latter. Wherever we find remnants of Western European Jewish dialects in reports from California where quotes or the use of proverbs are interspersed, they are to be credited to the Bavarians. These dialects are distinguished from the Yiddish used by the "Pollack," which can also be found in the same reports from California.

CHAPTER 11

IMMIGRATION OF EASTERN JEWS TO CALIFORNIA AND THEIR SPECIAL SITUATION AS COMPARED WITH THE GERMAN JEWS

Profound differences existing in the situation of German and Eastern European Jews already prior to their emigration had their effect in the establishment of Jewish communities in California. The German Jews, coming from countries in which there had been revolutions, were to a much larger extent influenced by political motives then the Eastern Jews and, as a consequence, constituted a proportional very large part of the German emigration waves of 1830 and 1848. Furthermore, from the very beginning the emigration of the German Jews took place in entire family groups, usually from small communities, while Eastern Jews, generally speaking, tended to emigrate separately. During the first decades of the "Old Immigration", the small communities furnishing most of the emigrants were located in the West and the South—mainly Bavaria—of Germany. Eastern emigration originated in a vast area of large and small communities, but occured mostly in "family-splinters". While in the case of the German rural communities gradually most of the substantial elements tended to emigrate to America in large family groups, the Eastern Jews remained in the New World—and eventually also in California—with only insignificant parts of their home community.

The large German Jewish families in the small communities were the first to emigrate as we learn from biographies of Jewish pioneers in the West.

The large families of German Jews—several brothers often augmented by other relatives or in-laws—all working together—were to be found in California as frequently as elsewhere. This was a contributary cause to their financial success. In contrast the Eastern Jew had nothing like it to fall back on, nor had other immigrant groups at that time. This enabled the German Jews to establish branches of their stores in other communities.

Under these circumstances certain differences may be noted as regards the degree of their economic adjustment in California.

German Jews, more often than the Eastern Jew, arrived with some capital. In the clothing business German Jews were generally listed as "merchants," while the names of Eastern Jews generally appeared as "tailors." Due to the practice of early California business directories to give both the occupation and the native country of those listed, we are in a position to adduce more exact data on this point. Thus, e.g., in the mining camp of Columbia the only tailor which may be assumed to be Jewish was "Solomon M. Tailor," a native of Poland.[1] The full extent of this trend will become apparent when we select the names of all Jewish tailors from the extensive business directory of Sacramento in 1856. There we find:

"Abraham, Geo. Tailor, Poland
Beck, Morris, Tailor, Prussia
Cohn, Samuel, Tailor, Prussia
Davis, Harris, Tailor, Poland
Friedland, August, Tailor, Germany
Harta, Samuel, Tailor, Prussia
Indig, Louis, Tailor, Germany
Krakor, Julius, Tailor, Prussia
Levi, Morris, Tailor, Germany
Levy, E., Tailor, Poland
Levy, S., Tailor, Poland
Levy, A., Tailor, Poland
Lewis, E., Tailor, Poland
Peyser, Samuel, Tailor, Poland.[2]

It should be explained here, that where "Prussia" is given as native country, it actually applied to Eastern Jews from Posen. The differentiating "Germany", which appears only three times in this list, is particularly frequent, by way of contrast, in the list of merchants. Among the 14 Jewish tailors in Sacramento we, therefore, may assume 11 to be natives of Eastern Europe.

Further agreement with this basic trend is shown by the fact that in the same directory Eastern Jews also predominate in the more modest occupations like clerks and even peddlers.

From the financially more favorable position of the German Jews—at least at the beginning—we may deduce that in general they were able to leave the peddler stage more quickly than the

Eastern Jews and that only a much smaller proportion of them engaged in peddling from the first.

In general, a smaller proportion of Jews, German as well as Polish, in comparison with the Middle West, engaged in peddling.

Socially, the German Jews had the advantage of living—more or less—in a German environment. In contrast, the Jew from Eastern Europe (in many cases) was the only immigrant from his native country in the area, a fact which becomes apparent from mining camp directories as well as from the 1850 Los Angeles Census, showing both persons born in Poland as Jews. His isolation became even greater as a result of the fact that even the French Jews had gained admission to French society.

All the more surprising then are the achievements of Eastern Jews in California, where they arrived not later than the others.

Eastern Jews were among the first Jews in several counties: for example, Linoberg in Tuolumne County and Meyrowitz in Lassen County. They were prominent in all mercantile ventures originating in California and in mercantile treks inland, as Wolf Kalischer to Utah and in the expansion to Oregon, British Columbia, and Alaska. For that reason the biographies of the successful among them furnish as interesting reading as those of the other pioneers.

In the final analysis it may be stated with regard to the early appearance of Eastern Jews in California that under the circumstances, theirs was even a greater venture than that of the German Jews. And the percentage of their return to the Atlantic Coast was surely no greater than that of other Jews, let alone Gentiles. They arrived there in numbers which were at least equal to their proportion in American Jewry in general. This circumstance foreshadows the extent of the participation of Eastern Jews in the merchant pioneering of the entire West. For them California was the same testing ground and provided the same experiences as for others. Here the American frontier conditions as a result of the suddenness of the gold rush were present in the boldest relief, since the thrust toward the Pacific took place at a time when vast areas in the interior, which had to be crossed, were as yet uninhabited and, indeed, regarded as uninhabitable. The Pacific Empire created an entirely new type of society which was yet to demonstrate that it could not deny equal rights to the Jews. For them to

go there was in itself a greater risk than the West, and the eventual achievement of actual equality goes as much to the credit of Eastern Jews as to all others.

The group consciousness of Eastern Jews and their part in the establishment of communities and their relations with other Jewish groups is elaborated elsewhere. It may be said, though, that the economic developments taking place in the course of the years exerted a leveling influence on the various Jewish groups. As the most venturesome among the Eastern Jews had entered the mining camps at an early time, following the conversion of the Californian gold proceeds into other values like real estate, industry, and agriculture, they were quick to change over to the new occupations. Back in the major cities they, like the others who had sought their fortunes in the cities from the start, had an equal share in the concentration and development of commercial and industrial enterprises.

CHAPTER 12

EVALUATION OF JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN CALIFORNIA—JEWISH SELF-EVALUATION

As it always and everywhere had been the fate of the Jews, their arrival among the adventurers who joined together to form one people in California caused many passions in evaluating the Jewish phenomenon.

> ". . . the Jews, thosce nomades of civilization. These erratic and money-loving descendants of the ancient biblical patriarchs seem to follow in the wake of all adventurous Christians and gentiles who wear those convenient articles of apparel denominated ready-made clothes."[1]

The contemporary observer who seemed irritated by the mere sight of the Jews reacted as a critic—even if he based his opinions only on people his absence he noted in certain fields:

> "Mining, the cultivation of the soil, in a word, any occupation that requires exposure to the weather, is too fatiguing and intolerable for them."[2]

After the Jew had become part of a complicated economic structure and his place could no longer be disputed, one underscores those activities of his which were of dubious value. The many comments on the Californian Jews as pawn-brokers were paralleled by similar editorials all over America, and they all attempted to emphasize unfavorable comments on that profession and on the Jews.

As in any locality in America, men of various origins were engaged in pawn-broking, though one preferred to talk about the Jews. Serious observers understood that the pawn-broking shops blossomed all over the State of California as motivated by deeper forces, above all the all-consuming craze of gambling, which led to pawning of objects.

> "It is to be regretted that in California those pawn-shops have not only become a necessity, but even more, they are increasing alarmingly, evidence of its profitable character."[3]

Further criticism is heaped on the Jew because he granted generous credits in goods to the population which had lost its cash resources through gambling, and because, when repayments were not made, he resorted to measures supported by force to obtain his money, whereby people lost their ranches following the foreclosure of mortgages.[4]

Criticism of this kind offers really no explanation for the phenomen that a constant exchange of real estate took place in California and he did not fare better in the eyes of his critics when he failed to use force for collecting his outstanding accounts. Rather, a new credit was added to the old, and by doing so he followed the model of the European country Jew who provided his rural neighbors with new goods again and again.[5]

Most of those critical remarks, the first ones in the field of economy, aimed early at a general evaluation of the Jews as a group. Characteristic of this attitude is the following one from Civil War days, when California had taken and affirmed its position within the Union:

> "As citizens they pay a devout respect to the laws, and but a small fractional tithe of the large numbers of offenders will be found of their creed. Their charity and liberality is proverbial—giving of their means with a hand which the eye does not watch, and to all deserving cases, irrespective of nationality or creed.

Contributing freely to all public movements, which tend to add to the fame of our young State, and staunch supporters of the Federal Government and the Union, which has given them liberty. Recognized and respected by all worthy men, they are an element in our midst which will contribute essentially to our future rise and progress."[6]

The social activity of the Jews stood in the very center of all reflections and was in accordance with the true feelings of the observer who saw that this element really used the Jewish community.

"The feeling of belonging together which united the Jews expressed itself not only in business, but likewise in their charitable deeds performed on their contemporaries. Nobody can deny that the Jews are incessingly active and their efforts are crowned by the highest of success."[7]

Social contacts between Jews and Gentiles were less subject to controversy in California than elsewhere. It was admitted that in the freedom that California offered to the Jews they nevertheless at last remained in their own circles. This was observed with bitterness both for Jews and Gentiles:

"Never since the great Egyptian exodus have the Hebrew race found a soil and society, better suited to their character and taste, better adapted to their prosperity and propagation than California. All nations having come hither, shades of color, of belief, peculiarities of physique, of temper and habit were less distinctly marked. Gold was here, and in common with the gentiles the Jew loved gold. For the rest, all he asked was to be let alone, and here that blessing was granted him more fully than in any country he had ever seen. Gold and golden opportunities, money-making and freedom of thought, speech and action, these were here, and these were the Jew's earthly paradise."[8]

The emphasis was put on the latter possibility to remain alone and aloof:

"Hotels and watering places were filled with his presence, secret societies felt his influence; but, otherwise, save in his trafficking, he held aloof from gentile associations."[9]

Intergroup mixture did take place, mainly on the lowest social level, and particularly in the early period of the colonization.

"Often in early times in mining districts, forgetting their fathers and their fathers' faith, they drank and gambled, and

raced horses, and swore, and frequented houses of prostitution. They there were fine fellows, and the noble American miner voted the Jew as good as the white man. Then the finger of scorn was removed, and ostracism no longer talked of in the charmed circles of commerce."[10]

That was in no way the general course of Jewish life in the new land and was infrequent and remained infrequent,

"few took to themselves the daughter of gentiles to wife."[11]

The straight road to Jewish ascent was for the entire Jewish community the only possible way to travel and the only one holding bold promise. It was acknowledged there as in other lands that the Jews were possessed by traditional virtues, purity of family life, an exemplary moderate personal life in drinking, and thrift.[12]

Above all, praise is uttered for their love for their parents:

> "While there are many examples of filial love among all classes of Californians, still the respect shown by the Jewish children to their parents surpasses them all and beautifully illustrate the result of home training."[13]

Altogether they are praised as fortunate, and they are called living witnesses for a sacred prophecy:

> "Though they mingle with other races mor than was their custom in 'ancient days', the prophecy that 'Israel shall dwell alone', is yet in fulfillment. They are His peculiar people."[14]

But no language was as well understood in this State as that of success. Therefore, it excerted its influence on Jewish self-evaluation:

> ". . . Nowhere in America is the Jew so well understood, and so readily appreciated, as in this State; . . ."[15]

It was a firm conviction of the New England Yankees that the Jew, particularly in California was destined to harvest rich profits.[16]

The list of Jewish millionairs, particularly of German Jew background, in the 1870s was an impressive one:

> *"San Francisco Millionairs*
>
> According to the San Francisco *Bulletin* the belongings of the following persons and firms is reported to exceed $1,000,000:
>
> . . . Levi Strauss, Louis Strauss, Jacob Scholle, William Scholle, . . . L. Sachs, . . . I. Friedlander, A. A. Cohen, Lazard Freres, A. S. Rosenbaum and Co. . . . Reis Brothers . . .

As one can learn from the names the German element is strongly represented among the San Francisco millionairs."[17]

A contemporary author added:

> "Ten members of the Temple Emanu-El—the principal synagogue in the city—have an aggregate wealth of forty-five millions."[18]

Jewish self-evaluation, of course based on the same set of facts around the end of the period under discussion, actually penetrating toward its core more effectively, and probing the negative aspects of the economic upsurge which overshadowed the spiritual life. Finally, it reaches the tone of genuine Jewish self-criticism:

> "I call Michael Reese, the wealthiest Jew on this coast, a pitiful affair, since he is a byword among the people,—since, with all his wealth, he is a walking advertisement of all that is to be despised in human nature. And in the same degree do I look upon our Orphan Asylum, as an institution that, though nobly endowed, is yet as cold, as lonesome, as unfrequented, as if the ladies had some other occupations besides 'flaunting their dresses' ".[19]

The trained eye of the experienced observer saw that not all wealth was based on solid foundations as the world in general assumed. Particularly in regard to the speculations by business people when it reached its climax at the stock exchange was considered to comprise the seeds of future disaster. It was feared that the fever of speculation did engulf everyone, even the simple man who would be deprived of his basis of economic activity:

> "As I predicted in my last, stockgambling has brought many a man within the last few months, to the common level of *Moishe Schneider*. It serves those brutes right. No business to bet on stacked cards, knowing them to be in the hands of such childlike and bland parties! Come down, ye tailors and glaziers, all from your high perch, and learn before your sun goes down that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush!"[20]

At last, again the deep and devoted optimism of the ancient Jewish people had attached itself to a new land—California. That optimism painted the picture of the Jewish future with the same strong confidence as elsewhere. The following words, which hardly could have been uttered later without hesitation or misgivings, put the story simply and convincingly:

"It should be added that the Jew is not a wandering nomad. When settling in California he settled for good, increases and accelerates cultural progress. He marries, surrounds himself with a family, endeavors to lead an honorable life, and he succeeds in that effort. His perseverance and his fairness are noteworthy in this age of selfishness. Thus, he spends his days under his 'vine-yard and fig-tree' adorned by oil-leaves until his days are counted and until his 'heavenly father' recalls him. If one were to deduct the Jewish energy and Jewish capital from California, the State would run bankrupt."[21]

In a period of time when the trust in the firmness of Jewish historic positions was seriously endangered, this inner strength of the ordinary Jewish man from times previous remained as a heritage, to which the characteristics of the Californian pioneers were merely added. In the annals of Jewish history the saga of the settlement on the Pacific will remain a living reality as long as we elect to relive it.

CHAPTER 13

CONTEMPORARY VIEWS OF CALIFORNIA AS A CENTER FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION AND AID EFFORTS OF THE CALIFORNIA JEWRY

Every thinking observer realized that the miracle of the development of an American empire on the Pacific, attracting Jews in large numbers, had also entirely new aspects as far as the Jewish situation all over the globe was concerned—above all in regard to the problem of emigration. A preacher characterized it very concisely as an act of Divine predestination:

"Just as the over-wrought industry of the World is about to sink exhausted, and by the weight of its own productiveness the newly discovered treasures of California pour forth to its aid, streams of vigor and sustenance. Who can deny that in all these most important events, these States have been and are the direct instruments of Providence; and that as we said of their past history, we may say of their present condition: 'The Lord does distinguish thee with what is good.' "[1]

Even more clearly it was stated that it was the new destiny of California to extend brotherly aid:

"If so many a man, whose future in Europe was doubtful, founded himself a happy existence across the ocean, it was often because of the willingly offered hand of brethren and co-religionists. So, a new Ophyr, of whose existence even our own fathers were ignorant, contributes his gold to build new altars of brotherly love at the places of origin of Israel and Judas, the ruins of Jerusalem."[2]

The oldest and the most modern form of Jewish solidarity and charity—aid for Palestine and for emigration—were combined by one common wave of emotion into an obligation, readily shouldered by the young Californian Jewry.

Direct relief to certain European home communities was also extended:

"San Francisco ahead.—

The Jewish congregation of Riesenburg, Prussia, having lost their Synagogue and many of their dwellings by fire, applied to their brethren in different parts of the world for aid.

Through the instrumentality of Mr. Joseph Jacoby in this city, who bestirred himself most praiseworthy in behalf of his unfortunate friends, 214 Thaler 14 Sgr. were sent them. The officers of the Riesenburg Congregation, in acknowledging the receipt of the money, state that this was the largest amount received from any single source."[3]

Aid was extended extensively within the circle of families.

"San Francisco . . . Another specious of monetary charity, of a much greater extent, is that bestowed by sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, in this country, on those, living in Europe. Many a hundred, yea, thousands, of humble hearts in Europe are cheered by the remittances from California. We also have frequently noticed that husbands generously send to the relatives of their wives, and wives gladly see the means of the house sent off to relieve the wants of the relatives of their husbands.—Large sums are expanded by brothers and sisters to bring out their kin to this country to settle here; and arrived here they are respectably supported, without hard labor, till an opportunity offers for permanent settlement."[4]

Among the travellers to Europe from America, who were admired by their relatives in the Old World as the former poor emigrants who now were transformed into successful American industrialists, we find many Jews from California. In their hometowns, when visited by them, as everywhere else in Europe, they spread the good news of the miraculous land on the Pacific, and they thus were effective as personal missionaries for emigration:

"Berlin, June 1, 1868.

. . . there is a perceptible increase in the pleasure-seeking tide of strangers from the giant republic of the Far West. Go where you may, rest assured an enterprising American has preceded you . . . You can scarcely enter any hotel of moderate size or pretension without finding representatives of one or more sections of the United States, and many unexpected meetings and cordial greetings have taken place within the portals of these public resorts. In the course of my rambles I have met several old friends and familiar faces. Among others, I encountered at Leipzig in April last, during the time of the fair, Messrs. Brooks, Swain, and Jones of California. A noted member of your business community, Mr. Wurkheim, made quite a hero of himself recently at Breslau . . . In all the first class hotels I found California wines on the wine card . . . The rush of emigrants this year to America, and partly to San Francisco, is enormous. The berths between decks have been secured on the Hamburg steamers for months in advance.

P.J."[5]

On the whole the direct emigration aid established the contact of California with the Jewry of Europe. Simultaneously it placed the young community in the center of discussion which American Jewry carried on concerning such migration:

"The Jews of San Francisco have very kindly forwarded $500 to Berlin, to be used as a fund for sending emigrant Jews to their sunny shores. This is the first installment sent by the 'Hebrew Emigration Society'—an Association which can be rendered very useful. We fear, however, that the remittance to Berlin will result in the arrival of numerous impoverished Jews in this city, en route for California, but unprovided with funds to go any further than the Castle Garden depot. We trust that the resident Committee in Berlin will act discreetly, and not labor under the delusion that the Jews of New York are so wealthy and charitable, that they will willingly provide every emigrant with plenty of money to transport him and his family to California.

The Jews of New York *are* charitable, and many of them are wealthy, but we doubt whether they care to exercise their benevolence in so indiscriminate a fashion."[6]

At the very beginning of such discussion Californian Jewry was recognized as a leader among those who extended a helping hand to the Jews of Russia, eager to emigrate:

"There appears to be a great desire with some doubtless well-intentioned Israelites, for the Jews who are at present suffering from distress in Western Russia, to immigrate to these shores. We

hope we shall not be considered callous to the cry of suffering humanity, if we dissent from the views expressed in California and elsewhere as to the practicability of the plan, or even as to the benefit it would confer on those who would be induced to come amongst us."[7]

The peculiar conditions on the Atlantic and on the Pacific were discussed elaborately in a description of the difficulties that had to be encountered by that project:

"We perceive a commencement has been made in San Francisco —$500 has been sent to Berlin as a nucleus for an emigration fund. Say the amount will be quadrupled—how many will it assist? A small number will be forwarded to our city, and we shall be expected to send them to California. Now, with all the characteristic benevolence of our people, they are not so ready to misdirect their charity as to employ it in a manner calculated to produce so questionable a benefit on the recipients of their bounty, as sending them to the Pacific. We will not even urge that it is unjust on the part of our California brethren to start such a scheme; for we are aware their sympathetic chord is easily moved, and the moment they read of distress, they are at once employed to arrest its progress. But we contend that, in this case, they permit their generosity to outrun their prudence. They may cause a few to depart from their native land, where they are suffering the horrors of poverty; and, in the language of true brotherhood, they say to them 'come to this land of plenty, Here you will receive the first instalment of our intention, and when once you arrive on these shores of plenty, trouble will hereafter be unknown to you and yours, for this is a land overflowing with milk and honey'."

Let us argue that your generosity will be acknowledged if a few, according to the amount forwarded, shall at once proceed to San Francisco. What, we ask, are you going to do with them on their arrival. Understand that the immigrants are not thrown on your shores, but you have invited them, furnished them with the means of coming amongst you. You have told them to quit their homes where they are suffering accumulated horrors, and come to you where they will find peace and plenty. All this is generous on your part, and manifests that you are of 'the seeds of Abraham'; but still the question is of the utmost importance. What good have you accomplished for the many, whom you are compelled, for the want of funds, to leave behind? What benefits will you confer on the few your benevolence prompts to arrive in your midst?"[8]

The first news item about creating a special emigration—society among European Jews having as its aim California at a

time when there existed still much excitement about the gold rush dates back to 1853 and came from Strassbourg. [9]

Organized efforts to aid emigration from Europe started only at a time when fate had willed that the discrimination and persecution inflicted on the Jewry of Eastern Europe (Roumania) had made its tragic impact felt:

> "San Francisco.—A Charitable Move.—
>
> Pursuant to an announcement, quite a number of Israelites met on Sunday, Sep. 12th, 1869, at the B'nai Brith Hall, to take steps for the organization of an Immigrant Society. The meeting was called to order by Mr. M.L. Citron, the prime mover in the matter, who briefly stated the objects of the call. He said that already they had met with fair success, and stated that it was proposed to organize a Society, having for its object the amelioration of the Israelites the world over; to assist similar associations already established in Europe, that they may extend their operations, and to aid all Israelites in Europe who are in a distressed condition. They wished to alleviate their condition and afford an opportunity for them to emigrate to this country, where, by their industry, they will be able to enjoy liberty and happiness.
>
> After an interchange of views as to the best course to pursue to carry out the proposed organization, it was finally resolved to adjourn till next Sunday, at the same place, when a permanent organization be effected."[10]

In the subsequent meeting the Society actually constituted itself and its officers were elected; it began working right away and succeeded in building up the membership rapidly:

> "San Francisco.—Ca.—Hebrew Immigrant Society.—At a meeting of the Israelites held last Sunday, a Society was formed under the name of the First California Hebrew Immigration Society, the objects being to aid those of their faith who are in distress in Europe and affords them opportunities to emigrate to this country. The following officers were elected to serve for the first term:
>
> President—M. L. Citron,
> Secretary—Louis Kaplin
> Treasurer—J. M. Martin,
> Trustees—J. N. Choynski, C. M. Levy, M. Morgenstein, N. Levy, W. Saalburg, J. Bien and I. M. Cohen.
>
> The Society already has a fund of $1500, and numbers four hundred members, which, it is expected, will be increased to three thousand members. Branch Societies are to be organized throughout the Pacific coast . . .[11]

The German Jewish press acknowledged first the impending, then the accomplished organisation of the Immigration Society with much satisfaction.[12] The French Jewish press joined the well–wishers with enthusiasm.[13] However, a large sector of California's Jewry at that time was rather unfriendly toward the immigrants, and it may well be that the only circles which were actually prepared to grant aid and a hearty welcome were none other than the Eastern European Jews already living on the Pacific. The following critical opinion voiced by a California Jewish paper, the first page of which was printed in the German Language, may have reflected the feelings that might have been popular among the German Jews and which more often than not might have remained unverbalized:

> "Russian Jewish Emigration to America.
>
> . . . Should America receive additional numbers of the same color as the immigrants from Russia were hitherto, we would consider it a great evil, both financially and socially. In New York they hive already and out a miserable existence; on the Pacific coast, it was till some months ago, not much better; but since the general depression of commerce, partly owing to opening of the Pacific Railroad, matters have grown worse. And we have not seen the worst yet. The importation of Chinese laborers into the United States by rich speculators, will throw a number of useful, freely spending class of laborers out of employ . . . The Chinese spend little in the American market; they trade generally among themselves; hoard their earnings to take them home. An increase of trading men would be a great infliction for the immigrants, and very undesirable for the enhancement of public opinion about Jews.
>
> There exists an exportation committee at Koenigsberg."[14]

It was emphasized that California was the only State that had produced promoters of Eastern European migration, but that none of them actually belonged to the wealthy—a subtle indication that they were to be found only among the immigrant Eastern European Jews:

> "The American Jewish press is unanimous in its deprecation of an increase of emigrants from Russia . . . the general hatred against the Russian Jew . . . The only State in America that did show some sympathy with the sufferers, was California, and there the effort was but that of a few individuals, and the sums raised came chiefly from that portion of us who were the least able to do it—from the less numerous and less conservatives . . . The emigrants

from Russia, while they can do the minimum of work—except they be mechanics—require the maximum of aid on reaching here . . .[15]

Yet the movement among the California Jews contributed to the change of attitude among the Jews of America and affected other Jewish communities in the Far West:

"Virginia City, June 12, 1870.

. . . The sad intelligence of the indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children of the Jewish persuasion at Roumania cast a gloom over our coreligionists. A meeting was called, resolutions passed . . . Considerable money was raised by subscription. . ."[16]

A well informed expert informed the Jewry of California on the situation of the Jews in Eastern Europe. It was Rabbi A. Z. Sneerson who came to California, and his addresses caused tremendous excitement in all the cities he visited. He spoke in San Francisco in Temple Emanu-El and talked about Palestine, where he had lived[17] and he prepared his trip to other cities after the news of his activity had made the rounds in the press of California:

"Massacre of Jews in Rumania.

. . . Rabbi Sneerson, who is at present in San Francisco, some time ago presented a memorial to the President, calling his attention to the depressed condition of the Jews in Roumania . . ."[18]

Gradually the attitude of the Jews of America changed toward the immigration from Eastern Europe and the Koenigsberg Committee. Only two years later the Californian Jewish press reported on increased immigration though not without caution:

". . . the Jewish immigration to America is increasing, although still too slowly to warrant any immediate expectations of a exodus of the race to this country . . . "[19]

Soon thereafter all America agreed that the recent Jewish immigrants from Roumania had proven most worthy of the confidence placed in them.

When at last, after a decade of continuous coping with the problem of Jewish mass migration of Eastern European Jews, a turning point was reached and the first groups of victims of the Russian pogroms reached this country's shores, the Pacific appeared the great hope for their settlement:

"San Francisco should move in this vital matter . . . The Pacific Coast, one of the finest agricultural regions of the world, offers special inducement to Jewish emigrants."[20]

The Californian Jewish press accepted the challenge and made a strong appeal to the patriotic pride of the Jewry of California:

"We live in California, the land renowned for its hospitality."[21]

In the last analysis, however, it became clear that the transfer of large numbers of new Jewish emigrants to California did not afford the major solution of which many had dreamed who had participated in the great discussion of that decade.

Yet, reminiscences of that discussion are heard even much later when one spoke of the abortive experiments to settle Russian Jews.

"I wrote that our California was great enough to shelter all the Jews in the world, and that it was folly to send the poor Russian Jew to the snowfields of Dacota and similar frozen regions, where he could come to nothing."[22]

CHAPTER 14

FIRST LINKS OF CALIFORNIA WITH OREGON

The gold fever that suddenly broke out in California involving a terrific stream of masses of humanity left older territories on the Pacific somewhat in uncertainty. The chances of Oregon in regard to migration were evaluated differently in that period.

Before authentic news reports on the gold finds in California were received in Oregon the general assumption there was that many people who had gone from Oregon to California would return from there disappointed:

"Many of those who went there, from Oregon, last year, have expressed themselves dissatisfied with the country and intend returning."[1]

But as soon as there could no longer be doubt that further gold deposits did exist in California it became equally clear that the settlers of Oregon would join in the general stampede:

"The Matilda brings additional news from California, respecting the gold fever or rather the solid gold . . . The effect of all this will be to bring all the immigrants of the United States into California, and even the Oregonians will pack up and move this way."[2]

Oregon found itself threatened by depopulation and had to reach a sober evaluation. It was impossible to withhold from its population the truth about the extent of the gold rush. One of the earliest descriptions of the gold fever could be found in the *Oregon Free Press,* which simultaneously tried to apply to its readers an anti-toxin:

"However as Oregon is destined to be the granary and provision market of the Pacific world, she can as well now as at any other time spread abroad her surplus supplies of produce . . ."[3]

The opinion, expressed here by Oregon in an hour of crisis and possibly without real conviction, soon thereafter was the well considered opinion of the Jewish merchants of San Francisco. They felt that Oregon should in no way be underestimated or overlooked; every opportunity there was to be exploited. An epoch of exploration of the possibility of the establishment of firms by Californian Jewish merchants commenced in California. Thereby not only the settlement of Jews in Oregon was facilitated, but simultaneously a link established between both Jewries.

The first movements of Jewish merchants from California to Oregon can be illustrated by the press there:

". . . steamer Gold Hunter, from San Francisco, December 24, 1850 . . . E. Goldstein, C. Friedenburg, S. Shloss, Moses Abrahams."[4]

and shortly thereafter:

"Passenger per Gold Hunter . . . Nathaniel Ellis, A. S. Myers, T. Abrahams . . ."[5]

The existence of a Jewish firm in Oregon City—particularly stressing its California origin—can be proven by an advertisement that appeared August 8, 1850:

"New Store.
. . . Crosby and Smith's White Building. Ollendorf, Wolf and Co. From San Francisco, No. 8, Jackson Street. Beg Leave to inform the citizens of Oregon City and vicinity that they have received by the last steamer a handsome assortment of clothing and dry

goods, boots and shoes, silks and silk shawls, and other desirable goods too numerous to mention. Also a good assortment of watches and jewelry, which they offer to sell very cheap, as they intend returning by the next steamer."[6]

Actually, it was a new ship that was to bring new goods:

"Arrived at Milton on the 8th of August, 18 days from San Francisco, the favorite packet Bark Louisiana with 17 passengers and about 200 tons of freight to . . . Ollendorf, Wolf and Co. . ."[7]

Early in 1851 the auctioneering firm of J. Goldsmith and Co. made its appearance in Oregon.[8] In a later ad the firm's links to San Francisco and Sacramento were emphasized.[9] Those were the beginnings from which a number of Jewish firms emerged which were simultaneously active in California and Oregon. Later successful Oregon firms transferred the field of their activities to California. The Jewish community of Portland always regarded San Francisco, which was so much larger, as an example for their mental eyes and the social conditions in the California metropolis did not fail to exert a strong influence there.

CHAPTER 15

CALIFORNIA–AUSTRALIA THE PARALLELISM OF JEWISH EMIGRATION

The curious fact that the discovery of the two large gold deposits of the 19th century—on two continents—coincided in one decade—in which California established itself as the Empire on the Pacific—occasioned the parallelism of Jewish emigration, which stamped its character on the eighteen-fifties. We observe a simultaneous gold rush of Jewish emigrants to both continents, which was also influenced, to a certain extent, by the European Emigration Bureaus which directed the various groups to one or the other continent, depending on the prevailing situation. The result in both cases was the establishment of permanent Jewish settlements in new parts of the world.

As a consequence, relations between the Australian and Californian Jewish communities developed at an early date and—to a

certain extent—an early transmigration of Australian Jews to California took place. A number of persons who were prominent in Jewish community life in California had migrated there from Australia in the early fifties.

The European emigration of Jews, from the very beginning, was regarded in the light of a gold rush to both countries. Thus, a London Correspondent wrote to an American Jewish newspaper in 1852:

> "The emigration fever is increasing, the gold regions attract men and women, the hoary father of a family and the blooming damsel; the venerable matron and the sprightly boy—all flock to the 'Modern Ophir', many of our people are also preparing to leave, though some letters recently arrived from the 'land of promise' do not describe it as one 'flowing with milk and honey,' but rather discourage such people as have not physical powers enough to undergo the fatigue of the 'diggings.' Probably like the *California Fever* in America the Bathhurst Fever in England will subside and in a few months settle down into a sober deliberation and consultation."[1]

The fever did not subside. Another account in the same newspaper following a short time later described how the emigration continued, emphasizing that from the very beginning the Australian ventures received far more careful planning than the early Californian treks:

> "*Emigration to Australia.*—
> The emigration to Australia is on the increase and differs widely from the early migration to California, in the intelligence and means of the class going forward. This fact is clearly shown by the quality and standing of the ships placed on the line. In the first burst of the mania to reach the American El Dorado, anything in the shape of accommodation was accepted. Any old hull plastered over with paint and putty was speedily crowded no matter what port it sailed for, provided it was en route for the gold region."[2]

The realization that beside the California fever there was also an Australian gold rush transpired to the American public in the course of time and became a topic of general discussion.

> "Australia is now by its sequel to California in emigration and gold production fairly an American topic, though hitherto it has occupied but little attention in this country."[3]

In the Jewish emigrant's mental view of the far world where freedom was to be found, California and Australia remained together and we have reports of the foundation of emigration societies especially for each of the two continents:

> "For the emigrants there will be an abundant source of consolation: even in France, at the centre of Judaism, they are occupied with the Californian question. We learn that in Strasbourg (Lower Rhine) a committee has been formed for Jewish emigration to California, perhaps according to the example of the society created in London for emigration to Australia reported by us previously."[4]

But this London Society also realized that beside the Emigration to Australia it must not neglect the chances offered by Californian emigration and, depending on the circumstances and the prospective emigrants in question, aid was extended also to the California-branch.

> "*Jewish Emigration Society.*
> We have received a report from London of the transactions of the above society, and we confess that we feel proud of the truly charitable feeling which characterizes our English co-religionists. Instead of fostering mendicancy, by giving indiscriminate alms, they have appropriated $10.000 for the purpose of sending families and Jewish mechanics to Australia, besides furnishing means for others who were desirous to emigrate to California."[5]

Jewish transmigration from Australia to California—almost unnoticed by contemporaries—took place not as a change-over from one gold rush adventure to another, but was brought about under the overwhelming impression of the foundation of the new commercial empire on the Pacific—San Francisco—which exercised its irresistible attraction even on Jews who had already settled in Australia. On passenger lists of ships bound for California via Honolulu Jewish names began to appear, and in the listings of California City Directories, Australia began to show up as native country of Jewish residents. Some of the best known figures of Jewish comunity life in San Francisco, like I. Solomons, President of the Congregation Sherit Israel for many years, had immigrated from Australia.

This enrichment in positive forces which was experienced in California as a result of Jewish transmigration from Australia, was

shortly contrasted by other immigrants arriving there fom Australia; mostly ex-convicts of Australian penal colonies who, as "Sidney Ducks," constituted a major part of San Francisco's organized crime, did untold damage to the city, and finally forced its citizens to take matters in their own hands by forming Vigilance Committees.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. De Bow's Review, vol. 8 (1850), p. 539.
2. Ibid., vol. 29, p. 743.
3. Merchants Magazine and Commercial Review, vol. 21, p. 79.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 131.
6. Rudolf Glanz, The Jews in American Alaska (1867–1880), New York, 1953.

CHAPTER 1

1. Niles Weekly Register, vol. 74 (1848/49), p. 221.
2. Occ, vol. 10, p. 426.
3. Niles, vol. 74, p. 221.
4. Asm, vol. 12, p. 13.
5. The Oregonian, vol. 1 (1838/39), p. 223.
6. Asm, vol. 1, p. 109.
7. Asm, vol. 4 (May 23, 1851), p. 36.
8. Albert M. Friedenberg, "Letters of a California Pioneer," PAJHS, No. 31, pp. 135–171.
9. Ibid, p. 143.
10. Ibid, p. 152.
11. Ibid, p. 168.
12. Ibid.
13. Asm, vol. 1, p. 117.
14. C. W. Haskins, The Argonauts of California, New York, 1890, pp. 401, 402, 406, 408, 410–412, 423, 476.
15. Frank Soulé, The Annals of San Francisco, New York, 1855, p. 822.
16. Haskins, pp. 360, 372, 375, 381, 384, 385.
17. Friedenberg, p. 138.
18. Deseret News, vol. 1 (July 6, 1850), p. 30.
19. Ibid., vol. 1 (January 2, 1851), p. 189.
20. [Patrick Breen], Thrilling and Tragic Account of a perilous journey overland to California, West Hoboken, 1917, Journal from October 31st 1846 to March 1st 1847.
21. PAJHS, No. 22, p. 174; Jewish Chronicle, August 13, 1880, p. 7.
22. Statement of Adolf Sutro, (In Bancroft Library), p. 11.
23. Walter Colton, Three Years in California, New York, 1850, p. 83.
24. The Pictorial Union, Sacramento, January 1, 1853, p. 2.
25. State Gazette, Austin, Texas, vol. 2 (1850/51), p. 229.

26. The Friend, Honolulu, August 1, 1848, p. 63.
27. Ibid., November 15, 1849, p. 74.
28. Emanu–El, vol. 1, No. 5, p. 9.
29. Ibid., vol. 1, No. 4, p. 10.

CHAPTER 2

1. Voorsanger, Jacob, *The Chronicles of Emanu-El,* San Francisco, p. 16.

2. The names of the volunteers include the following: Brown, Charles, Company E; Brown, Philip, Company D; Bergeman, Emil, Company G; Freund, Henry J., Company D; Cohn, Moritz, regimental band; Philip Cohn, Company D; Kaufman, Julius, Company G; Kern, Julius, Company D; Lyons, Aron; Mark, Joseph; Mark, Louis, Company E; Marx, Ernest, regimental band; Meyer, Geo. S.; Neiman, Henry, Company D; Posneer, Jacob A., Company D; Rosenthal, Antone, regimental band; Walther, George; Weiss, William; Wittman, Isaac, Company I. Giffen, Guy J., *California Expedition: Stevenson's Regiment of First New York Volunteers,* Oakland, 1951, *passim.*

3. Bancroft, H. H., *History of California,* Vol. 3, p. 746; Vol. 4, pp. 278, 279 ("Jacob Frankfort").

4. Newmark, Maurice and Marke R., *Census of the City and County of Los Angeles for the Year 1850,* Los Angeles, 1929, p. 42 ("Jacob Franford," 40 years old).

5. Haskins, C. W., *The Argonauts of California,* New York, 1890, p. 360 et seq.

6. Menefee, C. A., *Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book,* Napa City, 1873, p. 297; Tuomey, Honoria, *History of Sonoma County, California,* Chicago, 1926, Vol. 2, p. 244; Bancroft, H. H., *History of California,* Vol. 1, p. 687, Vol. 4, p. 751; *History of Sonoma County,* San Francisco, 1880, p. 485.

The following advertisement appeared in the *Californian* for March 15, 1848 (Vol. 2, No. 44, p. 1):

"COMMERCE HOUSE–SONOMA

Messrs. *Adler and Myers* beg most respectfully to inform the inhabitants of Sonoma, Napa and surrounding country, that they have opened thoes premises lately occupied by Mr. G. F. Blume, with a large and choice selection of *Drapery, Grocery,* and *Iron-Mongery Goods.*

The whole of their stock being purchased for cash they flatter themselves that they can offer inducements to purchasers hitherto unparalleled in Sonoma.

February 7, 1848."

7. Voorsanger, Jacob, *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. 7, p. 672 ("Leidesdorff").

8. Voorsanger, Jacob, *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. 7, p. 34 ("San Francisco"). But this is a case of mistaken identity. *Washington Allen Bartlett* the alcalde of Buena Yerba, died between 1870 and 1880. *Washington Bartlett,* born 1824 in August, Georgia, as the son of a Jewess was elected Governor in 1887.

II.

1. *Niles Weekly Reviewer,* Vol. 66, p. 81 (April 6, 1844).

2. Staatszeitung, Vol. 14, No. 51, p. 3.

3. "Russian Jewish Immigration to Early California," *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), Vol. 41, No. 27, p. 4.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Bertram Korn, *'Eventful Years and Experiences,* p. 22.

6. Vol. 1, p. 109.

The report adds: "We endeavored to obtain a list of the departed Hebrews, but found it impossible to make it correct or complete. We give below a portion of the names gathered by us: Jos. Goldsmith, L. Jalumstein, M. A. Hart, Isaac Coburn, A. Myer, Jos. Bloxum, Lewish Lewit, J. Knaus, J. Simonsfeld, G. W. Meyer, Isaac Shad, L. Garetzky, M. S. Jalumstein, Ed. Heilbuth, S. M. Moses, J. A. Harris, Myer Bach, Schwab, L. Sylvester, Michael Hart, L. Bertweiner, Alex King, Ed. Scwerin, H. Leszynsky, George King, M. Brush, Ulman."

7. Vol. 1, p. 117.

8. William R. Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California in 1848–9,* London, 1850, Vol. 1, p. 36.

9. *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), Vol. 41, No. 27, p. 4.

10. "Statement" (Bancroft Library), p. 11.

11. Vol. 4, p. 36.

12. 1856, p. 25.

Sherith Israel's first constitution contained the following provision: ". . . to worship therein according to the Customs and usages of Minhag Poylin to be the same as far as practicable and without departing from the form and custom, now in use in the principle Congregations of the United States and England" (*Minutes,* April 1851).

"The two great parties are known here by the name the English and the German party; to the former belong the native Americans, English, and those of northern Germany and Prussia (the natives of the two latter parts are erroneously called Poles); to the former, viz. to the Germans, belong the Bavarians and the Elsaciens [Sic.']; they form the majority of the Congregation and class together," (*The Israelite,* Vol. 2, p. 154).

13. Borthwick, J. D., *Three Years in California,* Edinburgh, 1857, p. 116.

See also *California's Pioneer of Rabbit Creek,* San Francisco, 1930, p. 63 (Fred, Sam and Theodore Auerbach, later owners of a large department store in Salt Lake City, had interests in mining properties when they were merchants in Cripple Creek).

The Autobiography of Charles Peters, Sacramento, p. 138.

Ibid.

Farish, Thomas Edwin, *The Gold Hunters of California,* Chicago, 1904, p. 180.

Huntley, Henry Veel, *California,* London, 1856, Vol. 1, pp. 66, 69.

14. *The Autobiography of Charles Peters, Sacramento,* p. 138

15. *Archives Israélites,* 1857, p. 148.

16. Borthwick, *supra,* p. 192.

17. Farnham, Eliza W., *California In-Doors and Out,* New York, 1856, p. 365.

18. *The Jewish Messenger,* Vol. 10, p. 5 (1861).

19. *Borthwick, supra,* p. 116.

20. Carson, J. H. *Early Recollections of the Mines,* Stockton, 1852, p. 52.

21. *The Autobiography of Charles Peters,* Sacramento, p. 138.

22. *Ibid.*

The Autobiography of Charles Peters, Sacramento, p. 138.

The Hebrew, March 8, 1872, p. 4.

The Autobiography of Charles Peters, Sacramento, p. 138.

"This city was greatly excited on Wednesday night by the receipt of a telegraphic dispatch from New Orleans, announcing the arrival there of the steamship Alabama, bringing intelligence of another destructive fire at San Francisco . . . We regret to have to record, that among the unfortunates our people appear to have been the loser to an enormous amount. The general or total loss is given at or near $8,000,000, and out of this amount *the names of Hebrew firms* figure up to the very large sum of $1,500,000 . . .

". . . In the list of those whose calcined bones have been recovered, our letter gives the names of Reuben Bacher, Leon Greenbaum, M. Nausbaum, and O. Rosenthall, and states that an immense concourse of citizens of all

creeds turned out on the ninth of May to carry the remains to the Israelite burial grounds."

Asmonean, Vol. 4, p. 68 (June 20, 1851).

"Funeral of Mr. Bach [another victim of the fire] . . . took place yesterday afternoon, from the store of Messrs. Levy & Woolff, corner of Clay and Montgomery Streets. The remains of Mr. Bach which were found . . . were identified . . . The funeral was attended by a large number of Masons in regalia, and many of Mr. Bach's Jewish brethren. The procession numbered some three or four hundred, and moved out to the Jewish burial ground on the road to the Presidio, where the remains were deposited with the impressive ceremonies of the Masonic order, and the rites of the Jewish church. The burial ground of the Israelites is on a hill to the left of the Laguna, and already contains some twelve or fifteen graves."

Daily Alta California, June 30, 1851, p. 2.

22 c. For example, "Cohen, Samuels and Co.
. . . . New Fireproof Brick Store,
Main Street . . . Mariposa
New Goods . . . Miners Clothing
. . . Gold Dust taken in exchange . . .

We have established a store at Aqua Trio—where the same kind of Goods will be sold . . . as in Mariposa.

One of the partners will remain in San Francisco to forward Goods and attend to all business connected with the store at this place." *Mariposa Democrat,* April 1, 1857, p. 3.

22 d. Daniel Levy in Archives Israélites, June 20, 1858 (quoted in Rome, David, *The First Two Years: A Record of the Jewish Pioneers on Canada's Pacific Coast, 1858–1860,* Montreal, 1942, p. 3.

22 e. "To Cariboo and Back: An Emigrant's Journey to the Gold Fields in British Columbia," *The Leisure Hour,* London, 1865, Vol. 14, p. 246. See also *Cariboo, the Newly Discovered Gold Fields of British Columbia,* London, 1862, p. 44: "There is another thing I would warn you of. Take care whom you sell gold to. The Jews will be up at Fraser's River, be sure, and they will try their usual games upon you. I say, sell only to official dealers; they are the only men with whom you can safely trade."

22 f. *British Columbian and Victoria Guide and Directory 1863,* Victoria, 1863.

23. Jewish names are found in the "Miners Directory . . . Columbia 1856, e.g. in Columbia: "Kerp, M. miner, Prussia," "Kerp, H. N. miner, Prussia," and "Levy, Abraham, miner, Texas"; in Jamestown "Goldsmith, C., miner, Prussia" and in La Grange" Charles Hamburgh."

24. For example, "Scott Bar has the leading merchandise house of the lower Scott and Klamath river mining district, Messrs. A. and C. Simon. This business was established first in Simonville, two miles below the present town in 1853, by Siegmund Simon, who came from Hamburg, Germany. Mr. Simon arrived at Scott river in 1851, and engaged in mining, but soon turned to merchandising. In 1853 Mr. Simon opened a business and named the town now known as Hamburg." "Millions of Gold," *Overland Monthly,* New Series, Vol. 29 (1897), p. 225.

"George Goodman . . . was born in Ransberg, Bohemia, in 1828, and after taking a part in the revolution of 1848, came to this country, reaching the placer diggings in this State in 1854. He engaged in placer mining in Eldorado and Amador counties. In 1873 he came to San Francisco and originated here the manufacture of artificial stones. He made the first artificial stone foundation and pavement in this city and the northwest corner of California and Kearny streets, and among other buildings for which he made the foundations were Stanford University, the State Capitol at Sacramento, the Chronicle and Perret buildings . . ." *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), Vol. 41, No. 31, p. 4.

Mendel Esberg (born March 18, 1834 at Hanover) came to New York in

1852 and in 1854 went to San Francisco, "then boiling over with the Fraser River excitement . . . went with the rest to seek his fortune, and subsequently established himself in business in Marysville, whence he returned to San Francisco . . . [Here he had] a small cigar store . . ." *Emanu-El,* Vol. 1, No. 15, p. 8.

25. 1864/65, N. F. 11, p. 218.

26. *Der Israelit* (Mayence), 1869, Jhg. 10, p. 159.

27. *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), Vol. 41, No. 27, p. 4.

"After this Mr. Gardner was engaged in general business in San Francisco. Later he returned to New York and became an importer from Russia." "Russian Jewish Immigration to Early California."

28. For example, Charles Stern, probably a Jew, to judge from his name (*Atlantic Monthly,* 1864, Vol. 13, pp. 603, 604).

29. See below pp. ... (for C. R. Felix Riesenberg, Jr., *Golden Gate,* New York, 1940, pp. 204–206).

30. "Recollections of William A. Streeter, 1843–1878," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* Vol. 18, p. 303.

31. N. F. 6, 1859/60, p. 109.

32. *The Hebrew,* Sept. 29, 1871, p. 4.

33. *Archives Israélites,* 1856, p. 25.

33 a. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Oct. 9, 1856, p. 4.

34. Benjamin, Vol. 1, p. 252 ("10,000 in California, half in San Francisco"). But the *Wiener Jahrbuch,* N. F. 10, 1863/64, was more conservative: "2500 Jews live in San Francisco."

CHAPTER 3

1. Vol. 10, p. 59.

2. Vol. 4, pp. 21–22.

3. *Occident,* Vol. 7, p. 480.

4. Vol. 4, p. 22.

5. *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Dec. 8, 1856, p. 2.

In this connection, the following, in a letter from San Francisco, is not without interest: ". . . we need an able, scientifically trained rabbi, who can follow a moderate course. We should like a man who has a reputation in Germany and who might be able to fill the teacher's and *Chasan*'s posts as well. He would receive about $3000. If he is also a good musician and teacher, he can easily earn another $1000 annually." *Juedisches Volksblatt,* 4 Jhg, 1857, p. 129.

5 a. Jacob Voorsanger, *The Chronicles of Emanu-El,* p.

Sherith Israel and Emanu-El, it seems, were organized at about the same time. The question as to which was organized first was not merely academic because Moses Montefiore had promised the first congregation on the Pacific coast a scroll of the Torah, but the matter was never settled. The front page of the minutes of Sherith Israel has the following inscription: "Held worship in April 1850, founded in August 1850." However, the meeting to draft the constitution and by-laws was not held until April 13, 1851. ——

At this meeting, a committee of three was appointed, consisting of Meyer Hart, McCowan and Lewis, to find a suitable place of worship to be rented for "the ensuing holidays." It is a pity we do not know more about the second gentleman named—McCowan. Was the name originally "Cowan" or have we here a convert to Judaism or is "Mc" a misreading for "Mr.", or was he a Christian friend? At that meeting, a Mr. Ollendorf offered three pairs of candlesticks to the synagogue which was still merely a resolution; and a Mr. Frankel volunteered to serve as reader during the holidays. The secretary, making these notes, was not as good a speller as he might have been, for we

read "volenteered" and "Hollidays." However, we must remember that our present system of universal education in the fundamentals was just beginning. At a later meeting (July 29, 1852), the Secretary was instructed to solicit contributions for the construction of a synagogue from other communities in California, and to write "letters to Mr. Rafish of Marysville, J. Zachariah and Cramer of Stockton and H. M. Cohen of Sonora." On January 2, 1853, as the result of an advertisement for a "Shamis, Reeder and Schochet" in the daily *Herald,* one of three applicants was selected. A committee of two was appointed to call "at all Israelites of San Francisco for Subscriptions" (July 29, 1852).

The synagogues of both congregations were open for services—the first time —for the High Holy Days in 1854. Sherith Israel's synagogue was consecrated on September 13, 1854, and that of Emanu-El a day later. The donations at Sherith Israel's synagogue then totaled $2500 and at Emanu-El's $1200. (*Asmonean,* Vol. 10, p. 204).

Directories of San Francisco list the minister and president of Sherith Israel as follows: Rev. D. H. A. Henry, "Reader, Minister and Rabbi Preacher;" Israel Solomons, president. "Location of Synagogue, East Side Stockton between Broadway and Vallejo." (*The San Francisco Directory,* compiled by Henry C. Langley, San Francisco, 1858, p. 377; 1860, p. 438; 1863, p. 505. Langley's directory for 1858 has the following about Emanu-El: "Elias Greenebaum, Minister; Location S side Broadway bet. Powell and Mason streets. Organized in April 1851. The present building was erected in 1854, at a cost of $35,000; it is a noble edifice, and will seat about 800 persons, and has a basement admirably adapted for school purposes, for which it is used." (P. 377).

The *Occident* reported the organization of the third congregation (Shaar Ashamaim) and listed officers and members (Vol. 11, p. 534).

5 b. Benjamin, Vol. 1, pp. 209, 215.

6–9. *American Israelite,* Vol. 29 (1883), p. 278 ('San Francisco").

10. For example: "To the Israelites of San Francisco.—The undersigned begs leave to inform the Hebrew Public that the large Hall in the old Post-Office, corner of Clay and Kearney streets (upstairs), will be fitted up as a place of worship for the Holidays. The best of Readers are engaged, and it will be conducted according to the customs of our forefathers.

"Gentlemen desiring to engage seats are requested to apply to the undersigned. Tickets to be had until the 29th of September. Elias Woolf, Trustee, 206 Kearney Street." *Daily Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 22, 1856, p. 2.

11. *Der Israelit* (Mayence), 4 Jhg. pp. 227, 228.

12. *The American Israelite,* Vol. 16 (1869–70), No. 1, p. 11.

12 a. Benjamin Vol. II, pp. 209, 215.

12 b. Sherith Israel was sufficiently "westernized," however, for only one member—in a long list of signatures in 1851 to sign his name in Hebrew. *Minutes,* Sherith Israel, pp. 23, 24.

13. *The American Israelite,* Vol. 3, p. 154. See also Benjamin, Vol. II, pp. 223, 224.

This is the congregation referred to in an earlier number of *The Israelite,* Vol. 2 (1855), p. 35, as organized in that year: ". . . their number amounts to about 25, of which each member pays 50 cents per moth, as dues . . ." *The Israelite* goes on to say: "The study of the Holy Thora is not neglected [by them], every Sabbath afternoon *a shtickele* [a portion] is read, *verteitsht* [literally, translated into German, but really translated into Yiddish and explained in that language] and expounded for the edification and enlightenment of the members."

In the *Asmonean* (1855), Vol. 12, p. 118, there is also a reference to this congregation: ". . . no other language is to be used at their meetings and for their transactions [according to their constitution, except] . . . the dialect common among the vulgar Russian and Polish Jews" [by which the reporter refers to Yiddish], nor are any characters to be found in their books but the Jewish."

13 a. Voorsanger, Jacob, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* article "San Francisco". Albert Siegfried Bettelheim was the rabbi. The congregation prospered and in the '80s its president was a Bavarian Jew—the pioneer, Abraham Newman (*American Israelite,* Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 5.

13 b. *American Israelite,* Vol. 20, p. 4.

The congregation was originally organized (June 15, 1861) as a benevolent society as well as a religious organization—its name in full, "Congregation and Benevolent Society Beth Israel." Meetings were held monthly in Apollo Hall at 810 Pacific St. In 1863, the officers were:

"Pres. L. Sherek; Vice Pres. Isaac Casper, Sec. G. Livingston; Treas. W. Wolf; Trustees: S. Henry, S. Goldman, and L. Tichenor; Messenger: H. Wolf." Crocker—Langley's *Directory,* p. 507.

13 c. *American Israelite,* Vol. 29, No. 11, p. 5.

13 d. This was a year of financial depression. ". . . Only the Temple Emanu-El is in a financially prosperous condition. The others were compelled to reduce the salaries of their Rabbis. Stocks are low; the gold premium has disappeared; and the hard times are felt in the congregations not less than in the commercial circles" *American Israelite,* Vol. 33, No. 12, p. 5.

13 e. (Note 5 b.) P.

14. P. 179.

15. Rice Harvey, *Letters from the Pacific Slope,* New York 1870, p. 78.

16. Bancroft, Hubert H., *History of California,* Vol. 7, p. 729 (San Francisco, 1884).

17. *The Occident,* Vol. 18 (1860/61), p. 208.

18. *Harper's Weekly,* Vol. 3, (1859), p. 727.

19. *The American Israelite,* Vol. 29, No. 11, p. 5.

20. "The San Francisco Jews have set an example which should be copied by all their brethern in the United States. They decided on absolute stoppage of all business activities during the Sabbath day, and they really stick to it, too. Consequently, the business people consider the Sabbath a day of rest and relaxation for their employees and the major avenues of this beautiful city offer an exceptionally calm and quiet view on the Sabbath. Steamers scheduled to leave on Saturdays wait until Mondays. We feel compelled to compliment our co-religionists. Yet, we predict for that Jewish community on the Pacific not only lasting good fortunes in their industrial activities, but likewise true religious progress—all that a Jewish community is proud of. Our New York merchants, who influence trade so strongly, should heed the model set by the San Francisco Jews." *Der Israelit* (Mayence), 6 Jhg., p. 138 (quoting *The Jewish Messenger).*

21. Lilienthal in *The American Israelite,* Vol. 33 (1879), No. 12, p. 5.

21 a. *Asmonean,* Vol. 4, p. 22.

22. *Asmonean,* Vol. 3, p. 28.

23. On March 18, 1851, at San Francisco, there was a Purim celebration "at the Gem Hotel, kept by Mr. J. Benjamin, on Jackson Street" (*Asmonean,* Vol. 4, p. 22).

24. *Weekly Gleaner* (San Francisco), January 7, 1859, p. 4.

In addition to the advertisments of four butchers selling "kosher" meat, the issue carried the following: "Mr. B. Silverblat, is employed as Shochat by the following butchers: Yale Abraham . . . Frankenheimer, S. Ochs, B. Adler."

25. Der Israelit (Mayence), 3 Jhg., p. 398 (1862).

26. ". . . on the occasion of electing a Schochat . . . the Polish Jews wanted the Polish candidate for the office, while the Germans flocked around their countryman" (*The Israelite,* Vol. 2, p. 154).

27. See pp. above.

28. Crocker-Langley Directory (1863), p. 507.

29. Crocker-Langley Directory (1858), p. 378.

30. Crocker-Langley Directory (1863), p. 23.

31. *Overland Monthly,* N. S., Vol. 25, p. 392.

When he was old, August Helbing wrote his memoirs and described the founding of the Eureka Benevolent Society. *Emanu-El,* vol. 1, No. 6, p. 13.

30 a. Benjamin.

30 b. Benjamin (I, 240).

30 c. Benjamin (I, 226).

30 d. Benjamin (I, 226).

31. "We admit the existence of two benevolent societies, but we deny the designation given to them of their being Polish and German: there is a 'Hebrew Benevolent Society' and a 'Eureka Benevolent Society'. Of the former a number of its members are Germans; to the latter any gentleman being of good moral character is admitted without regard as to his nativity, and let us ask, if any one case can be pointed out, in which charity or assistance was ever refused when applied for by any Israelite, no matter on what soil he was born, whether on German, Polish, English or Portuguese."

(*American Israelite,* Vol. 2, p. 251).

32. Crocker-Langley Directory (1858), p. 379.

33. "As regards the Ladies Benevolent societies the simple reason of some of the German ladies for refusing to join the one first started, is, that not being fully competent to express themselves in the English language—most of them being but a short time in America—they thought it best to form an association, in which their mother tongue, which they can all understand and speak, should be predominant. If the writer of the article wishes to forget Germany and its beautiful language, it may be desirable for him to do so. But we, or most of us, have no such inclination. The language in which our Mendelssohn wrote, shall not be forgotten, neither by us nor by our children."

American Israelite, Vol. 2, p. 251.

34. Benjamin (I, 249).

35. See above Note 13 b.

36. Crocker-Langley, Directory (1858, p. 378; 1860, p. 440; 1863, pp. 23, 507).

The constitution and by-laws were printed (San Francisco, 1869).

37. Crocker-Langley, Directory (1863, p. 507).

The constitution and by-laws, "Instituted July 8th, 1860," were printed (San Francisco, 1860).

38. Benjamin (I, 246, 247).

38 a. See above 30 b, text and note.

39. Constitution, Chebra Berith Shalom, p. 3.

40. Crocker-Langley, Directory (1863, p. 507).

41. Crocker-Langley, Directory (1863, p. 23).

42. *Asmonean,* Vol. 1 (1849–50), No. 25, p. 196; Vol. 5 (1851–52), p. 125 (Jan. 23, 1852).

43. Frank Soulé, *Annals of San Francisco* (1855), p. 596.

44. *Jewish Messenger,* Vol. 9, p. 173 (June 7, 1861).

45. A city directory of 1863 listed the Jewish cemeteries as follows:

"Hills of Eternity" (Gibboth Olom) Dolores, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Church Misson Dolores.

"Home of Peace" (Nevai Shalome) Dolores, Eighteen, Nineteenth and Church, Mission Dolores."

It added: "Cemetery Hebrew.—Northside Broadway between Franklin and Gough, Presidia."

Crocker-Langley's Directory, p. 528.

46. Feb. 21, 1868, p. 4.

47. American Israelite, Vol. 23, No. 26, p. 2. A Description of "The Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum and Home Society" is to be found in the San Francisco *Jewish Progress* for Sept. 26, 1879.

48. Voorsanger, Jacob, "San Francisco," *Jewish 'Encyclopedia,* Vol. XI, p. 35. ". . . . Meets every Wednesday evening at Washington Street Hall. Officers: President Jacob Vogeldorff; Vice President M. L. Pinkus; Secretary H. Herzog;

Assistant Secretary Julius Caro; Treasurer J. Godchaux," Crocker-Langley's Directory, 1858, p. 378.

49. Crocker-Langley's Directory, 1860, p. 440. See also their directory for 1863, p. 507, and Benjamin, Vol. 1, p. 246.

50. Crocker-Langley's Directory, 1863, p. 507; Benjamin.

51. *Archives Israélites,* 1865, p. 500.

52. *Occident,* Vol. 26, p. 45.

53. Crocker-Langley's Directory, 1858, p. 381.

54. *Jewish Messenger,* Vol. 6, 173 (December 9, 1859).

55. Benjamin (I, pp. 247, 248).

56. *American Israelite,* Vol. 29, No. 11, p. 5 (1877).

57. Benjamin (I, 249).

58. Benjamin (I, 249).

Crocker-Langley's directory for 1863 (p. 19) has the following:

"The Heptsi–Bah School.

At the school house on Sutter, second house from Stockton Street, (formerly the German Lutheran Church) under the management of Dr. Julius Eckman, was opened July 26, 1854. At this school, children are taught the Hebrew, and the principles of the Hebrew faith. It is supported by parents and voluntary subscriptions. Children of the needy receive instructions and books gratis. The Heptsi-bah School has its regular Sabbath and Holiday services with a prayer-book in English and some portions in Hebrew, prepared for the special use of this school, the only publication of this kind known for Hebrew children. The school has also published a Hebrew and English Vocabulary for the Hebrew prayers."

59. Benjamin (I, 250).

60. Vol. 3, p. 108 (September 1, 1856).

60 a. *The American Israelite,* Vol. 5, p. 78.

61. Benjamin (I, 251).

62. "M. Weiss" was the publisher.

63. Crocker-Langley, p. 19.

64. *The American Israelite,* Vol. 16 (1869–70), No. 13, p. 11, No. 17, p. 11.

65. *The Hebrew,* May 31, 1872, p. 4.

66. Crocker-Langley's *Directory,* 1858, pp. 120, 386.

67. Page.......

68. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* July 18, 1856, p. 1.

69. *Rebekka,* Nov. 18, 1874 (Vol. 1, No. 6).

70. *Occident,* Vol. 15, p. 180 (March 20, 1857).

71. *Der deutsche Pionier,* Vol. 8, p. 290 et seq. (1876).

72. *Ibid.*

73. Vol. 50, No. 4, p. 2.

74. Vol. 49, No. 2, p. 4.

75. The *Occident* had subscribers in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Michigan City, Sonora, and Camp Seco. See *Occident* Vols. 8–18, *passim.*

76. In addition to subscribers in San Francisco, Sacramento, and the other comunities listed above in Note 75, the *American Israelite* had subscribers in Marysville, St. Louis, Mariposa, Aqua Fria, Mokelumne Hill, Windsor, Volcano, Nevada, Downieville, Oroville, Columbia, San Leandro, Yreka, Mountain View, Angels Camp, Placerville, Bidwell, Danville, Red Bluff, Shasta City, Santa Barbara, Crescent City, and Pine Bluff. See *American Israelite,* Vols. 4–6, *passim.* Some of these places were just mining-camps.

77. *The Hebrew,* Vol. 41, No. 2 (1903–4).

77 a. *Der Israelit,* Jhg, 2, 3 (pp. 137–139), (1861–2).

77 b. Robert E. Cowan, *Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco,* (1850–1870), 1938, p. 30.

78. *Der Israelit,* Jhg. 5, p. 583.

79. *Israelite,* Vol. 3, p. 398.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Der Israelit,* Jhg. 5, p. 583.
82. *Up-to-the-Times,* Walla-Walla, Vol. 3, p. 1.
83. *Archives Israélites,* 1856–1865, *passim.*
84. For example, *American Israelite,* Vol. 29, p. 42 (1882), Vol. 30, p. 5.
85. Benjamin, Vol. I, p. 247.
85 a. Crocker-Langley Directory, 1860, p. 445.
86. *Jewish Messenger,* Vol. 16 (1864), p. 20.
87. *Archives Israélites* (1865), p. 588.
88. *Der Israelit* (Mayence), 10 Jahrgang, p. 862.
89. *The Hebrew,* May 1, 1868; July 28, 1869, p. 4.
90. *The Israelite,* Vol. 16, No. 13, p. 6; No. 14, p. 6; *Der Israelit* (Mayence) 10 Jahrgang, pp. 827, 850; *Archives Israélites,* 1869, p. 734; *The Hebrew Observer,* April 8, 1870, p. 4.
91. *The Hebrew Observer,* April 8, 1870, p. 4.
92. *American Jews Annual for 5649* (1889), p. 63.
93.(Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications,* "Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851."
94. *Ibid.,* Vol. 4, pp. 318, 328.
95. *Die Deborah,* Vol. 2, p. 7.
96. *Placerville American,* July 19, 1856, p. 3; San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin,* July 18, 1856, p. 1.
97. *The Israelite,* Vol. 1, pp. 345, 346.
98. *The Occident,* Vol. 13, p. 127; *Los Angeles Star,* April 7, 1855, p. 1.
99. *Los Angeles Star,* April 7, 1855, p. 2.
100. *Common Sense applied to the Immigrant Question.* C. T. Hopkins, San Francisco, 1869, p. 66.
101. Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* Vol. 19, Appendix B, p. 340.
102. *The Jewish Times and Observer,* Vol. 49, No. 2, p. 4. See also above p.
103. *The Hebrew,* Vol. 41 (1903–4), last page of all numbers. See also above p.
104. *Los Angeles Star,* August 6, 1870, p. 3.
105. *The Hebrew,* Nov. 18, 1870, p. 4.
106. *The Hebrew,* Feb. 10, 1871, p. 4.
107. *Archives Israélites,* 1871, p. 271.
108. *California Staats-Kalender auf das Schalt-Jahr* (1860), F. Hess and Co., San Francisco, p. 42.
109. *Der Deutsche Pionier,* Bd. 8, 1876, p. 290 et seq.
110. *Overland Monthly,* N. S., Vol. 25, p. 404.
111. Eugen Roemer, *Allgemaine Deutsche Unterstuetzungsgesellschaft von San Francisco: Geschichtliche Mitteilungen seit Ihrer Gruending am 7 Januar 1854,* pp. 10, 11, 15, 47, 51.
112. *Daily Alta California,* May 5, 1851, p. 1.
113. H. Mohr, *Ein Streifzug durch den Nordwesten Amerikas,* Berlin, 1884, p. 173.
114. *Der deutsche Pionier,* Bd. 15, p. 356.
115. Lloyd, B. E., *Lights and Shades of San Francisco,* 1876, p. 401.
116. *Ibid.* See also *New Yorker Handelszeitung,* 1874, No. 1334, p. 11.
117. Biographical Sketch of Louis Sloss, Ex-President of the Society of California Pioneers (in California Historical Society).
118. Oeker, Paul, "Der Getreide-Koenig von Californien," *Der deutsche Pionier,* Bd. 10 (1878).
119. *Emanu-El,* Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 9.
120. Furthermore he states:
"I can say one thing, that among all the thousands that I have employed during my life in California, I have never employed a Chinaman, and I am one of the few in this State that has not. I will bet that you can't name another

man that has employed as many men as I have some thirteen or fourteen thousand at a time—that has not employed a Chinaman. I am opposed to the Chinese on the political grounds of the future . . . The very worst emigrants from Europe are a hundred times more desirable than these Asiatics."

Statement of Adolf Sutro, p. 12 (in Bancroft Library).

121. Vigness, Paul G., *History of Alameda,* 1939, p. 26.

122. Kahn, Edgar M., *Cable-Car Days in San Francisco,* 1940, p. 45.

123. "Russian Jewish Immigration to Early California," *The Hebrew,* Vol. 41, No. 27, p. 4.

124. *Overland Monthly,* June 1, 1875, (Vol. 14,) pp. 284–287.

125. Hornblow, Arthur, *A History of the Theatre in America,* 1919, Vol. 2, p. 287.

CHAPTER IV

1. The following incident, in the course of a merchant's buying trip to Sacramento, is not without interest, although the incident itself, of course, might have happened to anyone—Jew or Gentile:

"$200 Reward. On Thursday morning, 11th instant, the advertiser had loaded upon a wagon, about $1500 worth of dry goods, clothing, boots, etc., for the purpose of having them taken to Hangtown. After the wagon was loaded, the owner of the goods went into another part of the city, and requested the teamster to wait for his return at the head of J Street. This the teamster promised to do; but on returning, about 15 minutes afterwards, the team, wagon and goods had disappeared, and, although the advertiser has searched earnestly throughout the road between this city and Hangtown, and in the latter place, no information has since been obtained in relation to them. On passing by K and 6th Sts. the driver was stopped by two men, with whom he shook hands and held a long conversation.

"The teamster was a man about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches in height, and had two bay mules attached to his wagon. In addition to the goods there were on the wagon a blue cloth overcoat, a red flowered carpet bag, and some other personal clothing.

"Information which will lead to the recovery of the goods may be left at the store of *Rhine and Herzog,* on J Street, 3 doors below 2d.

"The above reward will be paid for such information as will lead to the recovery of the goods.

"J. S. Levy and Co." (*Daily Placer Times,* Sacramento, Setpt. 21, 1850, p. 3).

2. Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart, *Temple B'nai Israel and the Sacramento Jewish Community* (Sacramento, 1927), p. 7.

3. Benjamin, Vol. 2, p. 9.

4. *The Israelite,* Vol. 7, (1860–61), p. 158.

5. "Hebrew Benevolent Association, (First) of Sacramento.

Organized in the latter part of 1850 (no record); A. Bricker was chosen president. Re-organized, February 1852; G. Haines, President; February 1854, A. Mayer was elected, and served one year; 1855, G. Haines, President. Present officers—S. Wand, president; Joseph Rosenheim, Vice President; A. Koshland, Treasurer. Object—the alleviation of the suffering of the poor and sick." *Colville's Sacramento Directory,* Vol. VI, 1856, p. 65. See also Dr. John F. Morse's *Illustrated Historical Sktetches of California,* Sacramento, 1854, Annex, p. 7 ("March 4th—Hebrew Benevolent Society of Sacramento reorganized.").

"Meets once each month at the call of the President. Present place of meeting, School Room on Fourth Street, between K. and L. A. Myers, President." *Colville's Sacramento Directory,* 1853. Appendix, p. 9.

"Jewish Cemetery, above Thirty-First. Established October 1850."

Colville's *Sacramento Directory* (San Francisco, 1856), p. 71.

In the *Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years* of Jacques J. Lyons and Abraham De Sola (Montreal, 5614–1854), Sacramento is listed as having the "First Hebrew Benevolent Society. Organized 5610–1850, possessing a Beth Haim."

6. Incorporated February 10, 1854. *Sacramento City and County Directory for 1868* (Robert E. Draper, Sacramento, 1868), p. 61.

7. *Sacramento Directory and Gazetteer, for the years 1857 and 1858* (J. N. Irwin, San Francisco, 1857).

"Place of meeting, Jewish Synagogue, Fifth Street, between N and O." *Ibid.*

8. *Sacramento City Directory* (D. S. Cutter & Co., Sacramento, 1859).

"Meets on the 1st Sunday in May, August, November and February of each year at the Hall, in Korn's Hotel, Fifth Street, between J. and K. Streets." *Ibid.*

9. Vol. II, p. 10.

10. *Sacramento City Directory* (B. S. Cutter & Co., Sacramento, 1859).

"Hebrew Benevolent Societies. Of these charities there are two in the city, the first of which was organized in the latter part of 1850, but the records of its exact date have been lost. The second was organized July 17, 1855" (*Colville's Sacramento Directory* San Francisco, 1856).

"Hebrew Benevolent Society, Young Men's.

Organized July 17, 1855, when S. Hoffman was elected President, and served until February 1856. Present officers are—S. Hoffman, President; P. J. Nathan, Vice President; J. Eppinger, Secretary; H. Appel, Treasurer; S. Levison, D. Ward and A. Galland, trustees; Object—alleviation of the distresses of the poor and sick."

Colville's Sacramento Directory, vol. VI, (San Francisco, 1856), p. 65.

"Meets first Sunday in every month, at the Office of Justice Barr, brick building, N. W. corner of J.and Third Streets" *Sacramento City Directory* (B. S. Cutter & Co., Sacramento, 1859).

11. "A social club of young Jews was organized in July 1855. It has forty members. They meet monthly for social entertainment and exchange of ideas. The club is highly thought of for its benevolence." Benjamin, vol. II, p. 10, (although he was to add on the very same page: "I saw as little of the religious life of the Jews of Sacramento as I heard of their charity.").

12. *Sacramento City and County Directory for 1868,* (Robert E. Draper, Sacramento, 1868), p. 56.

13. *Union,* Oct. 6, 1851 (quoted by Rabbi Harold F. Reinhart, *Temple B'nai Israel and the Sacramento Jewish Community,* Sacramento, 1927, p. 8.)

14. *Colville's Sacramento Directory,* vol. VI (San Francisco, 1856,) p. 71.

"A. Mayer, President, who served in this capacity [from April, 1852] until July 1854, when A. Andrews acted as such until April 1855; being followed by Geo Aronson, who served until April 1856. Officers for the year commencing April 1st, 1856, are as follows: M. Kohn, President; M. Marks, Vice President; Moses Greenbaum, Secretary; S. Meyer, Treasurer; Joseph Kohn, A. Mayer and M. Goldstein, Trustees."

In the *Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years* of Jacques J. Lyons and Abraham De Sola (Montreal, 5614–1854), Sacramento is listed as having an "Organized Congregation, 5614–1853."

15. Reinhart, p. 9.

16. *Iibid.,* p. 10.

17. *"Jewish Synagogue.* Is situated on Seventh Street, between L. and M. The Society was organized in April 1852; S. Peck, Pastor. Officers: M. Marks, President; M. V. Cramon, Vice President; J. Breamer, Secretary; L. Elkus, Treasurer; Trustees: George Aronson, M. Goldstein, and Charles Lehman. . . . Hebrew School.—Was organized in July 1859. It numbers 40 scholars and is taught by Rev. Samuel Peck, at the Franklin School House."

Sacramento City Directory (D. S. Cutter & Co., Sacramento, 1859).

18. Benjamin, Vol. II, pp. 9, 10. See also *The Israelite,* Vol. 7, (1860–61), p. 158.

". . . immediately on the consecration of the new synagogue at Sacramento a 'split' took place, some forty members seceding, and establishing the congregation 'Sons of Peace' (!) lucus a non lucendo, we suppose. These gentlemen, whoever they may be, do not deserve much credit for the quickness with which the *Polish Minhag* became distasteful to them. The total number of members attached to the original congregation, B'nai Israel, did not exceed one hundred and thirty . . ." *Jewish Messenger,* Vol. 6, pp. 20, 21.

In 1856, the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* reported as follows: "Number of Synagogues in California.—We learn from the *Voice of Israel* that there are in California the following number of synagogues, which are all in good standing, viz. . . . in Sacramento 2. . . . in all nine synagogues [in California]" (p. 2).

19. Vol. II, p. 10.

"Kahal Bne Shalom" had in 1859 the following officers: Joseph Davis, President, S. Lippman, Vice President; S. A. Levy, Secretary; H. Appel, Treasurer; Joseph Newbauer, A. Hamburger, A. Greenebaum, Trustees. *Occident,* Vol. 17 (1859), p. 102.

20. *American Israelite,* Vol. 6, p. 22.

21. "I could not find out who was to blame for this frequent change." Benjamin, Vol. II, p. 10.

2. Reinhart, p. 14; *Der Israelit* (Mainz), Jahrgang 10 (1869), p. 827.

In 1868, a local directory listed the congregation and its synagogue as follows: "Hebrew Church (Benai Israel).—On the east side of Sixth Street, between J. and K. Pastor, Rev. Wm. Stamper." *Sacramento City and County Directory for 1868* (Robert E. Draper, Sacramento, 1868), p. 62.

The following were listed as ministers: "Reverends Z. Neustadter 1857–59; R. Rosenthal, 1859–60; S. Peck, 1860–61; R. M. Cohen 1861–62; M. Silverstein, 1862–65; Mr. Stamper, 1865–68; H. P. Lowenthal, 1868–79; Rabbi S. Gerstman, . . . 1879."

History of Sacramento County (Oakland, California, 1880), pp. 107, 8.

23. *Sacramento City Directory,* Horace Culver, 1851.

24. "20,000 Regalia Cigars landing at San Francisco from brig Centurion, for sale at M. A. Blumenthal 3d St., brick building, between 4th and 5th" (*Daily Placer Times,* Sacramento, Dec. 13, 1850, p. 3). "Toys! Toys!!" (advertisement of the same firm, ibid., Dec., 14, 1850, p. 3). "Glass Ware! Glass Ware! A splendind invoice now landing . . . J. Friedlander, Jackson St. 3 doors above Montgomery St." (*Daily Placer Times,* Sacramento, Dec., 13, p. 3).

25. See *Emanu-El,* Vol. I, No. 5, p. 9.

26. Statement of August Heilbron in the Bancroft Iibrary.

27. *The Hebrew* (San Francisco), Vol. 41, no. 27, p. 4.

28.("I. O. *Bnay Berith.*

Instituted January 1st 1859; numbers thirty-five members, Mose Waterman, President; P. J. Nathan, Vice President; H. Appel, Secretary; S. A. Levy, Secretary; A. Hamburger, Treasurer.

Meets every Thursday evening at Odd Fellow's Hall, corner of Third and K Streets." *Sacramento City Directory* (D. S. Cutter & Co., Sacramento, 1859).

When Benjamin visited Sacramento in 1860, the lodge had forty-five members (Vol. II, p. 10). In 1868, it had eighty members and about $2000 in its treasury as a sign of its prosperity (*Sacramento City and County Directory for 1868,* Robert E. Draper, Sacramento, 1868, p. 56). [1868, Robert E. Draper, Sacramento, 1868, p. 56).]

29. March 7, 1858. Reinhart, p. 14.

30. *The Hebrew, February* 21, 1868, p. 4.

31. In 1872, "the bal masque, given at Turners Hall, by the ladies of the Purim Ball Club" attracted seventy-five masks (*The Hebrew,* March 29, 1872, p. 4).

CHAPTER 3

I.

1. The Gold–Rush Song–Book . . . San Francisco, 1940, p. 3. "The Unhappy Miner."
2. Sonora Herald, July 13, 1850, p. 1.
3. March 26, 1856, p. 2.
4. Buckbee, p. 360.
5. Sonora Herald, June 24, 1854, p. 1.
6. Buckbee, p. 201, 207, 225, 358.
7. Ibid., p. 474, 482.
8. Sierra Democrat, Vol. 1 (1856), No. 22, p. 2.
9. Ibid., No. 29, p. 2.
10. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 29, p. 1. "Downieville in ashes."
11. Ibid., No. 43, p. 2. "The Forst City Fire."
12. Ibid., No. 37, p. 2.
13. Ibid., No. 1, p. 3.
14. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 22, p. 3.
15. Ibid., No. 1, p. 3.
16. Ibid., No. 46, p. 2.
17. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 3.
18. Ibid., Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 3.
19. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 3.
20. Otheto Weston, Mother Lode Album, Stanford, [1948], p. 62.
21. California's Pioneer Mountaineer of Rabbit Creek . . . , San Francisco, 1930, p. 63.
22. Sierra Democrat, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2.
23. Ibid., No. 10, p. 2.
24. Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 15, p. 2.
25. Calaveras Chronicle, Mokelumne Hill, July 17, 1852, p. 2, 4.
26. The Shasta Courier, October 10, 1857, p. 3.
27. The Shasta Republican, October 10, 1857, p. 2.
28. Mountain Herald, Yreka, June 3, 1854, p. 4.
29. Mariposa Democrat, April 1, 1857, p. 3.
30. Ibid., April 15, 1857, p. 2.
31. Ibid., April 1, 1857, p. 3.
32. Hinton R. Helper, The Land of gold, Baltimore, 1855, p. 52.
33. Mariposa Democrat, November 12, 1857, p. 1.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., April 1, 1857, p. 3, (Advertisement N. Cohn & Co.).
36. Ibid., September 24, 1857, p. 2.
37. Ibid., October 8, 1857.
38. Placer Press, Auburn, February 2, 1856, p. 2, 3.
39. The Eldorado County Journal, Diamond Springs, January 29, 1856, p. 1.
40. The Crescent City Herald, March 5, 1856, p. 3.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., p. 2.
43. Ibid., p. 1.
44. A Quaker Forty–miner, The Adventures of Charles Edward Pancoast on the American Frontier. Edited by Anna Paschall Hannum, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 311.
45. Ibid., p. 326.
46. San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, September 22, 1856, p. 2.
47. Jewish Messenger, Vol. 10, p. 5.
48. Thomas Edwin Farish, The Gold Hunters of California, Chicago, 1904, p. 65.
49. Dictation Marcus Katz, (In Bancroft Library).

50. Gilbert Abram Collyer, Early History of Eldorado County, M. A. Thesis, University of California, 1932, p. 128/129, quoted by Jack Goldmann, A History of Pioneer Jews in California, 1849–1870, Thesis, University of California, 1940, p. 26.
51. Archives Israelites, 1856, p. 25.
52. Occ., Vol. 14, p. 410.
53. Al, Vol. 4, p. 334.
54. Al, Vol. 6, p. 107.
55. Al, Vol. 5, p. 334.
56. Al, Vol. 5, p. 31.
57. Al, Vol. 5, p. 337.
58. Besides the Jewish Press occasionally a literary mind reveals his thoughts about the Jewish situation in the mining camps in his private letters: (J. Solis–Cohen, Jr. A. California Pioneer: The letters of Bernhard Marks to Jacob Solis–Cohen (1853–1857). PAJHS, Vol. 44, p. 12–57.
59. Al, Vol. 4, p. 145.
60. Buckbee, p. 22.
61. Miners . . . Directory, Columbia, 1856, p. 37.
62. Buckbee, p. 180.
63. Buckbee, p. 179.
64. Asm, Vol. 5 (1852), p. 141.
65. Occ., Vol. 8, p. 480.
66. Asm, Vol. 5, p. 151.
67. A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years . . . By Jaques J. Lyons . . . and Abraham De Sola, . . . Montreak, 5614–1854, No. 15.
68. Al, Vol. 3, p. 175.
69. Al, Vol. 2, p. 77.
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99. Benjamin, Vol. 2, p. 107.

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3. Benjamin, Vol. 2, p. 62.
4. Occ., Vol. 11 (1853/54), p. 428.
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23. Ibid.
24. Southern Californian, October 31, 1855, p. 4.
25. LAS, May 10, 1856, p. 2.
26. LAS, December 13, 1856, p. 3.
27. Ibid.
28. LAS. January 1, 1859, p. 1.
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32. The Mountaineer, June 9, 1860, p. 3.
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The founders of the Society tendered thanks to Solomon Nunes Carvalho, the Jewish artist of the Fremont expedition to the Far West, "for his valuable services in organizing this Society." (Occ. 12 (1854), p. 327), and the artist thanked "the brothers Samuel and Joseph Labatt, merchants of Los Angeles . . . . . . for many acts of kindness . . ." (Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West by Solomon Nunes Carvalho. Edited and with an introduction by Bertram Wallace Korn, Philadelphia 1954, p. 35, 316).

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13. LAS, August 26, 1870, p. 4.

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22. LAS, October 26, 1870, p. 2.

23. LAS, July 12, 1870, p. 3.

24. Jewish Messenger, V. 34 (1873), No. 9, p. 2.

A further report on the consecration gives Al, Vol. 21, No. 10, p. 6.

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26. LAS, August 3, 1862, p. 3.
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29. LAS, July 21, 1870, p. 2.
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31. LAS, August 5, 1870, p. 5.
32. Bulletin de L'Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris. 2e Semestre 1868, p. 138, 1 er Semester 1869, p. 49/50.
33. H, October 1, 1869, p. 4.
34. H, March 29, 1872, p. 4.
35. H, June 24, 1870, p. 4.
36. H, May 31, 1872, p. 4.
37. LAS, January 12, 1861, p. 2.
38. H, March 25, 1870, p. 4.
39. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), No. 2, p. 4. Los Angeles had then 136 Jewish families.
40. Bnai Brith Messenger, Los Angeles, Vol. 3 (1899), No. 34, p. 8.
41. Sinai, Vol. 3 (1859), p. 950/51.
42. Benjamin, Vol. 2, p. 147.
43. Pinkos, p. 33.
44. Pinkos, p. 26.
45. Hand—Book Almanac for the Pacific States: . . . William H. Knight, 1864, p. 201.
46. Jewish Messenger, Vol. 40 (1876), No. 22, p. 3.
47. Ibid.
48. The Guardian, San Bernardino, May 30, 1868, p. 2.
49. Ibid., December 12, 1868, p. 2.
50. H, June 11, 1869, p. 4.
51. H, April 29, 1870, p. 4.
52. H, March 24, 1871, p. 4.
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55. LAS, June 4, 1870, p. 2.
56. Graves, p. 416.
57. Calendar, No. 56.
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59. Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849–1875, p. 133.
60. H, October 13, 1871, p. 4.
61. Benjamin, Vol. 2, p. 151.
62. The Hebrew Observer, August 26, 1870, p. 4.
63. Al, Vol. 17, No. 11, p. 9.
64. Jewish Messenger, Vol. 28, No. 11 (September 9, 1870).
65. Al, Vol. 29, No. 8, p. 4.
66. H, August 7, 1868, p. 4.
67. Al, Vol. 29, No. 7, p. 4.
68. Al, Vol. 29, No. 14, p. 6.

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1. Helen S. Giffen, The story of El Tejon, Los Angeles, 1942, p. 109.
2. Ibid. p. 125.
3. LAS, April 13, 1861, p. 2.
4. Harris Newmark, Sixty years in Southern California, 1930, p. 345.
5. The Union Vedette, Salt Lake City, March 24, 1864, p. 2.
6. LAS, June 22, 1870, p. 3.
7. LAS, June 9, 1870, p. 2.

8. Pioneer Notes, p. 127–129.
9. Mc Groarty, Vol. I, p. 247.
10. Dictation of B. Cohn of Los Angeles, 1887, (In Bancroft Library).

IV.

1. "The estate of Mr. Morris (near Los Angeles) which, in accordance with a kind invitation of his, I inspected, is indeed most charming. Orange groves, citrus trees,—Esrogim—as well as palm trees about which Mr. Morris told me that he had made "Lulufs" from them, give an appearance of variety of aspects and the appearance of the tropics." (H, March 25, 1870, p. 4).

2. Al, Vol. 6, p. 42. A statement by C. D. Benjamin of Stockton said that he arrived in California in 1849 from New York via Panama and that he combined cattle-growing and farming as follows: He owned the following acreage:

"250 Vine, 100 Orchard, 1000 Wheat, 160 Barley, 840 Timberland and also 35 Cattle, 35 Mules, 70 Hogs."

(d. August 17, 1887, in Bancroft Library).

3. Al, Vol. 10 (1863/64), p. 397 "Hebrew Agriculturists."

4. Die Neuzeit, Jhg. 14 (1874), p. 310 "Los Angeles."

5. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 26.

6. Major Ben C. Truman, Semitropical California, San Francisco, 1884, p. 149.

7. Ibid., p. 197.

8. H, February 12, 1869, p. 4. Another Jew was ". . . Charles Stern who had enjoyed a long and valuable experience in the winebusiness upon the Rhine . . . Agencies have been established in New York and other cities under the supervision of Mr. Stern." (Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 13 (1864), p. 603/4).

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1. Asm, Vol. 4, p. 21 "California Correspondence," dated San Francisco, March 31, 1851.

2. Jüdisches Volksblatt, Jhg. 4 (1875), p. 129.

3. Hemman Hoffmann, California, Nevada und Mexico, Basel, 1871, p. 200.

4. Die Neuzeit, Jhg. 2 (1862), p. 332 "Californien."

5. Al, Vol. 29, p. 246 "San Francisco."

6. Al, Vol. 29, p. 30.

7. I, Vol. 6, p. 134.

8. Al, Vol. 29, p. 50.

9. Al, Vol. 30, p. 5 "San Francisco."

10. Al, Vol. 29, p. 246.

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1. [Alonzo Delano], Pen knife sketches, Sacramento, 1853, p. 59.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, California inter pocula, San Francisco, 1888, p. 372–374.

3. Sarah Bixby—Smith, Adobe Days, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1925, p. 128.

4. Hinton R. Helper, The Land of Gold, Baltimore, 1855, p. 52.

5. Morrow Mayo, Los Angeles, New York, 1932, p. 46.

6. Arthur Hornblow, A History of the theatre in America. Philadelphia, 1919, Vol. 2, p. 315.

7. H, March 25, 1870, p. 4.

8. Hubert Howe Bancroft, Popular Tribunals, San Francisco, 1887, Vol. 1, p. 458–459.

9. J. H. Carson, Early Recollections of the Mines, Stockton, 1852, p. 36.

10. J. A. Graves, My seventy years in California, Los Angeles, 1925, p. 416.

11. Scribner's Monthly, Vol. 10 (1875), p. 281.

12. Der deutsche Pionier, 1870, p. 11.

13. San Francisco Abendpost, January 13, 1862, p. 3.

14. Ibid.

15. Archives Israelites, 1873, p. 700.

16. Ibid., 1875, p. 713.

17. Gazlay's Pacific Monthly, Vol. 1 (1865), p. 78.

18. B. E. Lloyd, Lights and Shades of San Francisco. San Francisco, 1876, p. 133.

19. Oscar Lewis and Caroll D. Hall Bonanza Inn. America's First Luxury Hotel. New York, 1939, p. 284–287.

20. Catherine C. Phillips, Portsmouth Plaza, . . . San Francisco, 1932, p. 203.

21. History of Fresno County, California with Biographical Sketches . . . Los Angeles, 1919, p. 379.

22. William Alfred Morris, The origin and authorship of the Bancroft Pacific States Publications: a history of a history. I. (Oregon Historical Quarterly, Vol. 4, p. 287–364, p. 304).

23. San Francisco, 1878.

24. Der Israelit, (Mayence), Vol. 8, p. 296.

25. Die Deborah, Vol. 11, p. 175.

26. Robert R. Cowan, 1850–1870. Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco. [San Francisco], 1938, p. 30.

27. H, July 17, 1868, p. 4.

28. Bonanza Inn, p. 52.

29. Buckbee, p. 374.

30. William H. Chambliss, Chambliss Diary; or Society as it really is, New York, 1895, p. 365.

31. Ibid., p. 228.

32. Al, Vol. 25 (1875), No. 7, p. 5.

33. Ibid., p. 6.

34. [George H. Derby], Phoenixana; or Sketches and burlesques, New York, 1856, p. 66.

35. Ibid., p. 69.

36. Archives Israelites, 1870, p. 349.
1889. . . ."

37. Constitution and By-Laws, of the Society of California Pioneers, organized August 1850. Constitution revised July 1853. San Francisco 1853.

38. "Proposed Amendment to the Constitution, . . . Proposed June 3d.

39. C. T. Hopkins, Common Sense applied to the Immigrant Question: showing why the "California Immigrant Union" was founded, . . . San Francisco, 1869, p. 66.

40. H, July 22, 1870, p. 4.

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1. American Jews Annual for 5649/1889, p. 101–102.

2. B. E. Lloyd, Lights and Shades of San Francisco, San Francisco, 1876, p. 402.

3. Mariposa Democrat, July 16, 1857, p. 2.

4. San Diego Herald, September 3, 1853, p. 2 and September 17, 1853, p. 2.

5. Karl Rühl, Californien, New York, 1867, p. 83/84.
6. Hemman Hoffmann, Californien, Nevada und Mexico . . . Basel, 1871, p. 36.
7. LAS, September 4, 1869, p. 2.
8. H, February 12, 1869, p. 2.
9. H, March 25, 1870, p. 4.
10. San Francisco News Letter, April 5, 1879, p. 10.
11. Memorial of the six Chinese Companies, San Francisco, 1877, p. 16.
12. Statement of Adolf Sutro (in Bancroft Library), p. 12.
13. Tom Barry's . . . Clown Songster, . . . New York, 1882, p. 15.
14. For the contemporary Jewish angle of the Chinese question in California see: Rudolf Glanz, Jews and Chinese in America, (Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 16, No. 3, p. 219–34).
15. The Shasta Republican, October 10, 1857, p. 4.
16. Ibid., p. 4.
17. H, September 11, 1868, p. 4.
18. G, January 7, 1859, p. 1, 2, 4, 5.
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21. H, January 27, 1871, p. 4.

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3. William Grey, A picture of Pioneer Times in California, San Francisco, 1881, p. 74.
. Amelie Ransome Neville, The fantastic City. Memoirs of the Social and Romantic Life of San Francisco, Boston, 1932, p. 134.
5. Paul Oeker, The grain–king of California. (Der deutsche Pionier, Vol. 10 (1878), p. 191).
6. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, 1878, p. 191 "San Francisco."
7. Sinai, Jhg. 4 (1859/60), p. 184.
8. Jewish Times, Vol. 4, p. 730.
9. Al, Vol. 23 (1877), No. 10, p. 5 "San Francisco Letter."
10. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 66 "San Francisco."
11. Jewish Voice, Vol. 3, No. 37, p. [3], no pagination indicated.
12. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 30 "San Francisco. Our ladies in retreat."
13. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 282 "San Francisco."
14. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 30 "San Francisco."
15. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 282 "San Francisco."
16. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 160 "San Francisco."
17. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 261 "San Francisco."
18. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 229 "San Francisco."
19. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 43 "San Francisco."
20. Al, Vol. 32 (1885), No. 35, p. 5. "San Francisco."
21. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 309 "San Francisco."
22. Al, V. 29 (1882), p. 42 "San Francisco.
23. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 61 "San Francisco."

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2. John S. Hittel, The resources of California, . . . San Francisco, 1863, p. 379.

3. Sacramento Transcript, April 4, 8, 18, 1850, p. 2.
4. H, February 21, 1868, p. 4.
5. LAS, June 4, 1870, p. 2.
6. H, September 4, 1868, p. 4.
7. L. Simonim, Les Pays lointains. Paris, 1867, p. 35.
8. Statement of Samuel Oscar Alexander. (In Bancroft Library).
9. Op. cit., PAJHS, No. 31, p. 168.
10. Al, Vol. 32, No. 26, p. 5.

CHAPTER 10.

1. Al, Vol. 2 (1855/56), p. 154.
2. Al, Vol. 28 (1881), p. 186 "San Francisco."
3. Archives Israelites, 1853, p. 598.
4. Al, Vol. 28, p. 186 "San Francisco."
5. Ibid., p. 194 "San Francisco."
6. Al, Vol. 29 (1882), p. 90 "San Francisco."
7. Ibid.
8. Al, Vol. 28, p. 229 "San Francisco."
9. Ibid. "San Francisco . . . Would not, but did."
10. The Jewish Voice, vol. 28 (1900), No. 14, p. 6 "Observations."
11. Ibid., March 23, 1888, p. 3 (pagination not indicated).

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2. The Sacramento Directory for the year 1856–57 . . . compiled by Samuel Colville, Sacramento, 1856, p. 1, 10, 31, 38, 53, 64, 70, 81, 83, 104.

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2. Ibid.
3. Karl Rühl, Californien, New York, 1867, p. 83.
4. Recollections of William A. Streeter, 1843–1878, (California Historical Society, Vol. 18, p. 274).
5. Robert Louis Stevenson, The Amateur Emigrant, New York, 1905, p. 159.
6. DAC, April 14, 1862, p. 2.
7. Rühl, p. 83.
8. Hubert Howe Bancroft, California inter pocula, San Francisco, 1888, p. 372.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 372–374.
11. Ibid.
12. B. E. Lloyd, Lights and Shades of San Francisco, San Francisco, 1876, p. 402.
13. Addison Awes jun., Why a rich Yankee did not settle in California, Boston, 1900, p. 99.
14. Lloyd, p. 404.
15. The Jewish Messenger, Vol. 10, p. 5.
16. Katherine A. White ed., A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush. The letters of Franklin A. Buck, Boston, 1930, p. 215.
17. New Yorker Handelszeitung, 1874, No. 1334, p. 11.
18. Lloyd, p. 401.

19. Al, Vol. 24 (1875), No. 11, p. 6.
20. Al, Vol. 28 (1877), No. 10, p. 5.
21. Der Israelit, (Mayence), Jhg. 6, p. 315.

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2. Jahrbuch für Israeliten, Herausgegeben von Joseph Wertheimer, Neue Folge, Jhg. 2, Vienna 1855, p. 143.
3. H, May 14, 1869, p. 4.
4. Al, November 21, 1862, p. 155.
5. H, July 10, 1868, p. 4.
6. Jewish Messenger, Vol. 26 (1869), No. 14, p. 4.
7. Ibid., No. 15, p. 4.
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9. Archives Israelites, 1853, p. 220.
10. Al, Vol. 16, No. 13, p. 6.
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12. Der Israelit, (Mayence), Jhg. 10, p. 827, 850.
13. Archives Israelites, 1869, p. 734.
14. The Hebrew Observer, April 8, 1870, p. 4.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., June 17, 1870, p. 4.
17. H, May 20, 1870, p. 4.
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19. H, January 19, 1872, p. 4.
20. The American Hebrew, Vol. 8 (1881), p. 92.
21. Ibid., Vol. 11 (1882), p. 130, quoted from the San Francisco Hebrew.
22. The Jewish Voice, Vol. 10 (1891), No. 4, page not indicated in "Golden Gate Notes."

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2. The Friend, Honolulu, July 1, 1848, p. 54.
3. Vol. 1, No. 19 (August 12, 1848), p. 2.
4. Oregon Spectator, Vol. 5, No. 18 (January 9, 1851), p. 3.
5. Ibid., Vol. 5, No. 21 (January 30, 1851), p. 3.
6. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 23 (August 8, 1850), p. 3.
7. Ibid., Vol. 4, No. 24 (August 22, 1850), p. 2.
8. The Oregonian, February 22, 1851, p. 2.
9. Ibid., p. 3.

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1. Asm, Vol. 6 (1852), p. 102.
2. Asm, Vol. 7, p. 54.
3. The Literary World, Vol. 12 (1853), p. 24.
4. Archives Israelites, 1853, p. 220.
5. Jewish Messenger, Vol. 1 (1857), p. 105.

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